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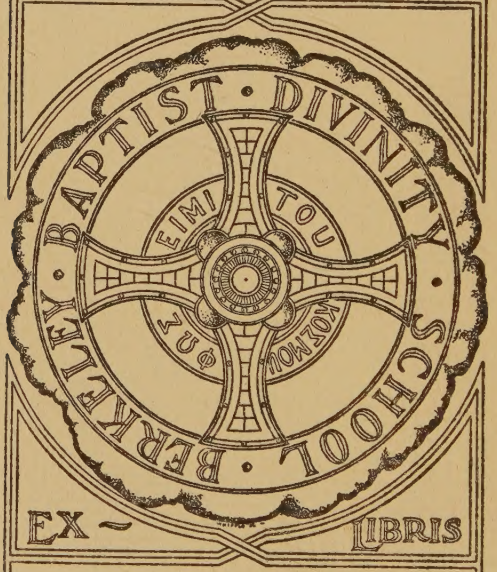

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MISSIONS AND RACE CONFLICT

Volume I

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE AND MESSAGE IN RELATION TO NON-CHRISTIAN SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT AND LIFE

Volume II

RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONS

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THE RELATION BETWEEN THE YOUNGER AND THE OLDER CHURCHES

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THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN THE LIGHT OF RACE CONFLICT

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THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN RELATION TO RURAL PROBLEMS

Volume VII

INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COOPERATION

Volume VIII

ADDRESSES ON GENERAL SUBJECTS

THE JERUSALEM MEETING OF THE
INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

MARCH 24–APRIL 8, 1928

VOLUME IV

The Christian Mission in the Light of Race Conflict

WITHDRAWN

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Part One

PRELIMINARY PAPERS

PUBLISHED IN PREPARATION FOR
THE JERUSALEM MEETING

Except in the case of statements and recommendations adopted by formal vote, the International Missionary Council is not responsible for the opinions or statements expressed. Four preliminary papers on the Christian Mission in the Light of Race Conflict were distributed in advance of the Jerusalem Meeting to all the delegates for their information. These have been revised and are printed in the following chapters. None of these papers was formally presented to the Council and no action was taken by the International Missionary Council in reference to them.

EDITORIAL NOTE

In preparation for the consideration by the Council of the problems arising out of the contacts of different races, no attempt was made to survey the problems in all parts of the world. It was believed that more might be accomplished if the attention were centered on two or three important areas, to review with reference to such a more limited field some of the most effective and instructive efforts that are being made to deal with these racial relations in order to discover in the light of the best available experience in the world in what ways the Christian forces can make the largest possible contribution to the furtherance of racial understanding and goodwill. The problems on which it was decided to focus attention were those arising from the contacts of the white and black races in the Southern States of America, and in South Africa, and those arising from the contacts of Oriental and Occidental peoples on the Pacific Coast of North America.

With reference to the problems arising from the contacts of the white and black races, the author of the first paper is Dr. John Hope, who is President of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, one of the oldest negro colleges in the United States of America. The second paper was prepared by Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., the Director of Research for the Commission on Inter-racial Coöperation and Director of Race Studies for the University of North Carolina, under the direction of a committee composed of Dr. R. R. Moton, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, and Dr. John Hope, who have approved it. The third paper was prepared by the Reverend J. Dexter Taylor, D.D., who is a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and has served in Natal for twenty-nine years. A special note of acknowledgement is due to Dr. Taylor for writing this paper on very short notice.

The brief survey of the relations between Occidental and Oriental peoples on the Pacific Coast of North America was prepared by Mr. Galen M. Fisher, formerly General Secretary of the National Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Japan, and now Director of the Institute of Social and Religious Research in New York City.

CHAPTER I

THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

John Hope, LL.D.

THE Negro entered America without the language of America, without the religion of America, without the education of America, without the political viewpoint of America, without the economic viewpoint of America, without the family life of America.

As far as possible, the slave was kept in ignorance. While the English language was not prohibited him, it was not encouraged beyond the range of necessity, so that thousands of Negroes isolated on great plantations had barely the rudiments of English, and in intercourse among themselves talked an unknown jargon, remnants of which still remain in some of the lowlands and sea islands of Georgia and South Carolina.

The Negro slaves, ruthlessly cut loose from their own people, their own customs, their own religion, were thrown together pell-mell, often with nothing—either language or religion—in common. They quickly absorbed the Christian viewpoint, although the Christian religion, as sanctioning the tenets and customs of slavery, would tend to give these Negroes a very limited and distorted view of what Christianity really is.

Education for the Negro was something to be feared by slave-owners, so that there were severe laws against his education.

As a slave, he had, of course, no political participation, although it is true that the census gave additional representation in Congress to slave States.

With some notable exceptions, Negro slaves were not encouraged in thrift and economy, and whatever lessons were learned were imparted by force and in the interest of the master rather than of the slave himself.

He entered America with his native home and family ties forever and hopelessly shattered, and the spirit, method, and exigencies of slavery made it almost impossible for him to develop American family life.

I. THE CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS STATUS OF THE NEGRO ON EMERGENCE FROM SLAVERY

In spite of these inhibitions and handicaps Negroes came out of slavery with the English language so much theirs that many spoke it idiomatically, correctly, beautifully; and a few Negroes had thought, spoken, and written so well in prose and poetry that the American Negro may be said to have achieved a literature before his emancipation,—to say nothing of the fact that he had produced a lyric form (the poetry and the music his own) that yearly becomes more and more a marvel to those who study the Negro.

When we think of the Negro's interpretation of the Christian religion and realize that his first contact with this religion came in the midst of slavery and that his masters were the "Christians," it is almost beyond conception how the Negro acquired such an adequate comprehension of Christ's teaching. It could not be out of the life of the slave-owner; it was out of the Book, as the Negro himself, through suffering and a mysterious philosophy, came face to face with the Christ. His interpretation was so marvelous and adequate that less and less were his owners able, with any degree of moral comfort, further to bestialize him through slavery.

There is no doubt in the mind of the writer that the Negro's comprehension of Christ and his living out Christ did as much as anything else to make the abolition of slavery possible. It was no accident, for instance, that Joseph T. Robert, born and reared a planter and a slave-owner in South Carolina, should free his slaves and take his family to a place where there was no slavery. Robert, as a Christian, saw in the Negro's quality a brother, rather than a beast of burden. This instance, many times repeated,

presents a suggestion that in a mysterious way the Negro freed himself through the power of Jesus Christ as the Negro found Christ in chains.

In spite of laws against the slaves' education and though only four per cent. of the 4,000,000 slaves emancipated could read and write, it would be a serious mistake to think of the Negro as having emerged from slavery in ignorance. He knew much of agriculture, the handling and breeding of live stock; he had through necessity learned some things about diet which in recent years are being more and more applied for reasons of good health. He discovered, for instance, the value of foods containing vitamins long before the world knew there was any such thing as vitamins. He knew the trades, and in all the fields of industry in the South he had become a skilled workman and had reached the place where he was used as a foreman and could undertake and execute contracts. In his church, though this church had to have the direction and guardianship of a white man, the Negro had developed a leadership among his own people the technique of which still persists and gives a value and coloring to practically all his organizations and institutions. We may say with good reason that the Negro entered slavery ignorant; that he came out of it educated.

It has already been said that the Negro entered America without the American economic outlook. It may almost as correctly be said that there was no effort made to give him the economic outlook. In fact, the ways of slavery were such that the tendency would be for the slave to become thriftless and improvident. He had no guaranty of keeping whatever he might make, and the ease with which slaves were bought and sold gave little chance for any arrangement based upon permanent abode. But even thus the emancipated Negro went to work, saved money, bought farms, acquired city homes, and found sufficient surplus to educate his children. And much of this had taken place on a large scale within the first ten years of his emancipated life in America. It may be said, therefore, that he came out from slavery with the economic outlook of America.

It has already been said that the slave entered America without the political outlook of America. What, may we ask, was there in slavery to encourage him to have the political outlook of America, "the spirit of freedom, with every man up, nobody down"? He was a chattel for 300 years, corralled, crowded, bought, and sold. But in some mysterious way Negroes knew what was going on and in interest became a part of what was going on. They listened to conversation, they reported conversation surreptitiously, they learned how to read and retailed to the illiterate things that were read from the chance newspaper, whether on the master's table or taken out of some packing box. They had premonition; they had an idea of the outcome. When freedom finally came, they realized that they had reasoned for some time that it was coming and had been expecting it.

To a surprising degree they entered almost at once into the field of politics; they became members of legislatures and judges of courts. Much has been written that is derogatory to the Negro with reference to his political life in the South during Reconstruction days. But it was not simply Negroes in politics that were irregular; life itself just after that great four-years' war was irregular. There were greed, profligacy, intrigue. It was not simply the Negro; it was life in America following a protracted and exhausting war that overturned the political and economic foundations of one of the richest and most dominating sections of the United States.

But it is true that some of the best laws existing in the southern States to-day were made by those legislatures where the Negro had much influence. Among these are the enactments whereby the southern States for the first time in their history had free schools for the education of white and colored people. Until that time the poor white man was practically unable to receive an education. Negroes in politics therefore generously relieved the unfortunate white man as well as the unfortunate Negro.

II. THE SITUATION CONFRONTING THE EMANCIPATED NEGRO

Of much that happened just after emancipation, of much that has happened since Reconstruction days in the South, and of much that still exists with reference to the Negro, the explanation may be found in this question: Where did the emancipated Negro live?

For the most part, he lived in the southern States, in the very place where he had lived as a slave. He lived among his former masters, broken by war in wealth and numbers, and he faced a new economic system that must recognize the Negro as free, and privileged to bargain in an open market as a free man for his labor and the products of his labor. He lived among the people who had forced him by law to remain in ignorance as far as that was possible, but must now by law accord him equal though separate educational advantages. He lived among a white people who were in ignorance and poverty, because slave-owners and slave barons had for centuries put the Negro slave in open fierce competition with these poor white working people.

The Negro was forced, therefore, into the midst of three very distinct groups, more or less unacquainted with one another in those more intimate ways that make sympathy and generous understanding possible. These three groups, the former slave-owning whites, the non-slave-owning poor whites, and the recently emancipated Negroes, were more or less hostile to one another, the hostility of each growing out of the conditions and the results of slavery.

Is there any wonder, therefore, that harmony and a dynamic goodwill did not obtain? Here were 4,000,000 people very recently and suddenly removed from slavery. Here were the former slave-owning people not able in many instances to employ these former slaves at a reasonable wage, and hardly willing to do so if able. An economic situation appeared that made people in the South think of passing laws that would force Negroes to work, thereby producing a sort of economic slavery with none of the

responsibility that these former slave-owners had felt for their slaves. This condition threatened in a large way to undo the good of emancipation which had been gained through four years of war. The Government of the United States had, therefore, to take a hand to protect Negroes. The Negro was given the ballot as a means of protection.

In fact, the only means at the disposal of the liberators of the Negro for protecting him was to arm him with the ballot. This ballot, guaranteed by Union soldiers, made living and advancing possible for Negroes during the first ten years of their freedom, and kept in power the political party that was their friend and protector.

The fact that through violence, deception, and finally, unfair and discriminating laws, the Negro was later deprived of his ballot in the former slave States does not prove at all that the ballot was a mistake. On the contrary, the ballot was the strongest safeguard, and the Negro through the ballot was put into such a position of self-protection and self-promotion that he has managed through this impetus to survive and develop in spite of disfranchisement for many years.

III. THE FUNDAMENTAL BASIS OF PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE

As we look over this field where two races have lived for 300 years under strange circumstances, calling out the crassest, most cruel, and most bestial elements in men, yet challenging and winning the most lofty, noble, and unselfish thoughts, acts, and interests possible in human beings, we wonder, Why all this? What is there that is fundamental and that makes for permanence and progress?

Take the field of education. What has made the education of the Negro possible on such a scale and with such results as are found for the Negro nowhere else in the world? To understand this remarkable advancement of Negroes in the field of education some might find the answer in the presence of public schools for Negroes in the South. And

they have rendered a great service, as may be instanced by the fact that in 1865 the Negro population of the United States numbered about 4,000,000, with an illiteracy of ninety-six per cent., while now the Negro population is about 12,000,000, with an illiteracy of thirty-five per cent. or less.

Some might explain it by the presence of hundreds of private institutions of learning fostered for the education of Negroes alone in former slave-holding States. And these schools may well be used as the explanation of this educational advancement among Negroes, because they have supplied not only education but the spirit of service, which has been an additional inspiration to become educated and has kept educated Negroes rather generally to a sense of obligation for the education and amelioration of their group. It is perhaps true that the white teachers who came from the northern States at the close of the war brought a concept into the field of pedagogy that was, if not new in theory, certainly new in practice. Hitherto people, the world over, generally had been educated for their own benefit, advancement, and power. Sometimes these three ideas were carried so far among educated people that education became a cruel force that crushed the masses who did not have it. But these private schools and colleges sought out Negroes of all classes and quality, making no distinction whatever between the relatively poor and the relatively rich, the relatively educated and the relatively ignorant, bringing all of them into this great democracy of enlightenment and giving to them a torch that was to be borne by them into the distant places, in town and country, among the plantations, wherever ignorant Negroes were to be found.

It was a well-organized, intelligent, and holy mission on which these young, recently emancipated Negroes were sent by these northern white teachers throughout the South. It was perhaps the largest experiment in democratic education for altruistic purposes that had been undertaken up to that time.

Others might go further back and say that even before the Yankee teacher came south after the Civil War, there were some people who were secretly and unlawfully teaching the individual Negro or the little group of Negroes in different places in the South. Many a Yankee "schoolmarm," brought south to teach white children in the great houses, also secretly taught the black slave how to read. Many a mistress, at the risk of criticism and danger, taught some exceptional slave how to read. Bishop Capers in South Carolina went so far as to make a little catechism for slave Negroes on the plantations to read.

What motive force actuated those northern men in southern legislatures when they insisted upon the public school? What actuated the Yankee teachers when they came south, suffering odium and obloquy in order that Negroes might learn? What actuated the isolated Yankee "schoolmarm" and the southern lady-mistress, and the Bishop of the Carolinas, what impelled them to give Negroes the light, to open their blinded eyes that they might behold His glory? It is all quite simple when it is seen. It is Jesus operating in great souls so that they do His work. That is the explanation, in spite of all that was horrible and untoward in American life—Christ in the hearts of men and women, not only unshackling a few million slaves, but seeking to redeem a great nation.

The same spirit may be found as operating to preserve and protect the Negro in every avenue of life in the United States. He is in a minority so far as numbers are concerned; he is in a smaller minority so far as education is concerned; he is in still smaller minority so far as wealth is concerned. And when it comes to his ability to protect himself through the ballot and other powers that white people use, he is still more in the minority in the United States.

If only the ordinary elements were working in American society, the elements that writers of history and social science are apt to recognize, the writer of this paper would see slight chance or hope for the Negro's future in the United States. Economically he might be crushed. The vicious-

ness that can be engendered in politics might make him without force. Even his education, that has gone so far, might suffer a serious curtailment, for we know what unholy propaganda and unjust law may do to crush the weak. So serious might his situation become that even his religion might be affected, and that which has sustained him thus far—a mysterious hope—might perish. But there is this power moving in America, in spite of bad customs, discriminating laws, and prejudice so organized that America must suffer unfavorable and well-merited criticism for the presence of the Ku Klux Klan. This is the explanation of whatever protection, preservation, and advancement the Negro may have in America—the presence of Jesus Christ.

IV. THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA IN INTER-RACIAL RELATIONS

The foregoing, rather idealistic presentation regarding Jesus as the solvent of racial difficulties in the United States of America should not cause the writer to be classed as a visionary. He knows that all is not well. For instance, notwithstanding what has been said about education, it is well known that the Negro does not have equality of educational advantages in that section of the United States where the majority of Negroes reside. Moreover, all is not well with the Negro in the field of labor. In some places he has an equal opportunity, but in many instances he does not have an equal opportunity either as to the sort of employment or the amount of his wages in comparison with white working men. In fact, some people might say that what the Negro is getting is the crumbs, and that it is merely his good fortune that the crumbs in the United States are of an unusually large size.

We know that the Negro has been and even yet is notoriously and cunningly deprived of his untrammeled suffrage in that section of the United States where the largest number of Negroes resides. We know that in the matter of a safe abode or domicile there is serious difficulty, and his home

is not always guaranteed with such protection as other people get. This lack of protection is shown sometimes through his receiving threats and suffering violence from people who oppose his being in the neighborhood. It is shown again through lax housing arrangements which are tolerated to the detriment of the Negro's health.

All this is going on constantly, and the body politic is so used to the sight that it makes little impression on the majority. The majority becomes concerned only when something unusual takes place.

An instance of this occurred at the close of the World War, when thousands of Negroes were returning from the war to become rehabilitated in peaceful vocations in their old homes. The question arose, somewhat through prejudice, somewhat through fear, as to whether the South should allow these Negro soldiers to be repatriated in their old homes, especially as they had been in France and enjoyed equality, thereby being rendered unfit to live under the old conditions in peace.

To say the least, this was an ungracious attitude towards several hundred thousand Negroes who had risked their lives in their country's cause. But the situation actually became so acute that a few well-thinking, far-seeing white men decided that this attitude on the part of many white people was neither just nor beneficial. They said, "We must see that these men are given the opportunity of returning to their homes without molestation and given an opportunity to earn a livelihood."

This decision on the part of these few men called for courage and very quick execution. At once they got in touch with men who had a sense of responsibility and fairness in different communities all over the southern States, so that these few white people in various sections of the South prepared the rank and file of their people to receive these Negro soldiers in good spirit. This was finally accomplished. That incident was closed.

Ordinarily, nothing further would have been done. But this small group of white men was prepared to go further. They said, "This ought never to have happened, and we

should plan to prevent a recurrence of this sort of acute hostility between the races. To do this there must be organization, so that whenever an emergency arises, the machinery will be ready to be put to work to compose whatever difficulty may arise."

What the world knows about racial difficulties in the United States is that which the press reports. The press reports troubles, excitement, riots, lynchings, burnings,—all of which, it must be confessed, take place in that country. It is not so interesting for the press to publish what good did occur as what evil might have occurred, and if the press were disposed to publish the more favorable things, it would not be so easy to get the necessary information.

But this small group of white people has prevented many serious upheavals. This has been done quietly, and for best reasons little or nothing has been said about it. But through the activity of this group the physical lives of Negroes in the United States are becoming more precious.

The attitude of this group of southern white people has been quite different from that of a number of other efforts in behalf of Negroes. It had been the habit of even the favorably disposed southern white people to think out what was best for Negroes and do that. The effort was for the Negro, in behalf of the Negro. But this new group took another important step forward, and said: "We cannot know what is best for Negroes unless we consult with them so that we may find out their difficulties and problems from their point of view, and with a better understanding come nearer accomplishing something really worth while." With this in view, Negroes in various parts of the South were called together for conferences with white men and women in order that the Negro's side of this perplexing question might be presented.

The results of this were so helpful that another step was taken. It was decided that there should be an organization consisting of white people and Negroes, who would not only confer together but would make plans and work together on the various questions that came up from time to time affect-

ing the races in their relations with each other in the different communities.

At first there was no hard-and-fast program to be carried out. It was rather an organization of white and colored people determined to do what was best to be done to meet each situation as it arose, and as far as possible to prevent difficulties from arising.

As the months went on and these conferences continued, the white and colored people engaged in them came to know each other better, to discover more things in common, to find that difficulties were not so insoluble as had been thought, and, furthermore, to get real comfort and inspiration from mere contact with each other on this high, unselfish plane of association and coöperation.

Thus there has been developed a Commission on Interracial Coöperation which functions more or less throughout a large part of the United States, not only in the South where Negroes are most numerous, but also in the North, East, and West.

V. THE COMMISSION ON INTER-RACIAL COÖPERATION

It is interesting to note in the history of many movements that the by-products become more significant and powerful than the direct products. Here is an organization started to relieve the United States from acute clashes between Negroes and white people. In looking into these clashes, it found that lack of acquaintance makes for a lack of understanding and a lack of sympathy. The natural deduction was that the two races ought to know each other. But how should that take place in the midst of prejudice, fear, and hostile propaganda? This called for a study. And studies of the Negro were made.

Where now may those studies be used to render the greatest service? Not many changes take place in men and women of advancing years. But youth is impressionable and teachable. Why not pass this information along to

white boys and girls and to young white men and women who are yet in schools and colleges? Why not pass the word along to church organizations where young people are found in large numbers? This is being done, and the minds of these young people are open and receptive.

But the spirit and technique of the Commission on Inter-racial Coöperation are that Negroes and white people work together for the interest of each other. What happens? These young white people in colleges say, "Perhaps we ought to meet young Negro men and women who are in colleges. Notwithstanding the prejudice that has crystallized itself in law and custom, may not a few of us young white and colored people discreetly and profitably meet and talk over these questions together?"

This has actually been accomplished, so that young white men and women have met with young colored men and women in college forums in different parts of the South to come to a better understanding and to come even into a spirit of Christian fellowship.

So much has grown out of these efforts and this interest not only in the Negro as a working man, the Negro as a good citizen, but in the Negro as an educated man, the Negro as interested in art and as a creator of art, that there has arisen in the United States a much finer sense of appreciation for the Negro as a result of the Commission on Inter-racial Coöperation and some allied and kindred interests growing out of this effort.

Thus far, in a rather indirect way, the technique of the Commission on Inter-racial Coöperation has been suggested. Much that has taken place has been indicated, and it has been left to the imagination to see the still greater possibilities to be realized in fact as a result of this technique.

What is the purpose of this movement? The purpose, of course, is to help the Negro; to give this rather defenseless minority a square deal in the midst of perhaps the most powerful and aggressive civilization to be found to-day on the face of the earth; to see to it that 12,000,000 Negroes in a democracy of 110,000,000 people may be able to have in fact

the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which is the ideal of the American commonwealth.

But this is not all. And herein lies a decided difference between the Commission on Inter-racial Coöperation and other efforts that have been made in the South for the improvement of Negroes. Underlying that which has been done for Negroes there has been a selfishness lurking. Better schools, better treatment, better homes in order that the Negro may be more contented and therefore a better producer, thereby making a larger contribution to the agricultural and industrial situation in America. That frequently has been the spirit of much that has been done seemingly on behalf of the Negro.

This inter-racial relations movement is different. Here was the small group of white people, living in the South, who did not care particularly whether the Negro lived south or north, who were not primarily, if at all, interested in the Negro's enhancing the prosperity of white people, who, strange as it may sound, may not have been interested in Negro welfare primarily. It was a strange searching of the heart on the part of this little minority of white people and a frank, penetrating look into their own white civilization. They said this among other things: "Can a civilization that is cruel and unjust survive? What effect would a civilization that remained cruel and unjust have upon the people themselves who perpetrated cruelty and injustice?" They said: "We talk about Anglo-Saxon civilization. Now what has made Anglo-Saxon civilization great? It has been a spirit of law, a spirit of justice, as far as the Anglo-Saxons have understood law and justice. Are we not facing a demand to execute a higher righteousness than our civilization has ever had to face and execute? Does not the integrity and perpetuity of our own white civilization depend upon our sympathy and justice to the humblest man in the realm, of whatever race or condition?"

In the last analysis, it was a voice crying in the wilderness. It was a little group of white people in the upper chamber, preparing a new inter-racial gospel which said that "no race

can live that degrades another race, and our survival depends upon the recognition of brotherhood towards black people. The most awful challenge, but the most convincing challenge, is this black minority in our midst. The question is whether we white people will save our own souls."

And this group, ten years old, is still small, but is growing in power and in influence, so much so that it is looking beyond its own borders into every country that has an inter-racial problem. It recognizes that there will never be human happiness and world peace until inter-racial differences are composed in the spirit of brotherhood.

VI. CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made in this paper to give an idea of the so-called Negro problem in the United States without going into too much detail. The object of what has been said is to inquire what, after all, has made improvement possible when there has been and is so much to produce friction and what might become human destruction, either immediately through physical violence or gradually through the grinding influences that might be brought to bear in a powerful civilization upon a weak minority.

As has already been implied, we believe that the steadying and improving influence has been the presence of Christ, whether consciously or unconsciously, in the minds and hearts of some people, not necessarily a large number of people, but nevertheless people of such courage and lofty disinterestedness as to be able to sway, to a large extent, great masses of people who, if left to their own devices, might work havoc. And those few people in the United States need the encouragement and coöperation of kindred spirits, wherever found, the world over.

Now, knowing as I do the well-grounded suspicions of Negroes in America, fearing as I do the falling away of educated Negroes from a working belief in Jesus Christ as a result of bad treatment from people who in word at least profess Jesus Christ, I wish and earnestly pray for the solu-

tion of the racial problem in America. But I go further and pray that, the world over, the settlement of racial differences may be emphasized, and that, too, most especially among those peoples who profess Christ. God forbid that worse principles prevail! But we are facing to-day the question whether society will accept or reject Jesus Christ. Mere ignorance of His presence can no longer operate as an excuse for error. The world now knows righteousness as a working principle. The world has met Jesus Christ. So it is not a question of knowing Him but rather of choosing Him or leaving humanity to its self-destruction.

Without the presence of Jesus Christ in the United States, be it repeated, the Negro will perish. And in the process of his destruction the destroyers will sow the seed of their own death by their own violence.

The little group of white men that met in Atlanta, Georgia, just after the World War faced the fact inexorably:—A people cannot remain cruel and unjust and live.

CHAPTER II

AGENCIES FOR INTER-RACIAL COÖPERATION IN THE UNITED STATES

T. J. Woofter, Jr., Ph.D.

I. INTRODUCTION

COÖPERATION, as the word is used in this paper, assumes a broad meaning. It refers to any type of joint activity for the common good. The conception is too often applied narrowly to somewhat artificial efforts toward united work for social uplift, but it is well to remember that the true spirit of mutual helpfulness may be infused into the humblest tasks that are jointly undertaken by two or more people. This spirit of mutual helpfulness in the thousands of every-day contacts between two peoples is the basis of adaptation of diverse groups. Without this spirit in the seemingly trivial every-day tasks, friction and struggles are sure to develop in the larger issues. In order that two peoples may live together harmoniously, rather than in discord, it is necessary that the coöperative spirit be infused into all their activities. Religion, agriculture, industry, education, public-health work, and government must all be so attuned that they will develop the desired attitudes.

There are several differences between the situation of the Negroes in the United States and the situations of other belated peoples who are in contact with Western civilization. The progress made by colored people in America is, in part, due to this different situation, and in part, to conscious effort to ameliorate race relations. A knowledge of the differences in situation is necessary for appreciation of the peculiarities of such coöperation in the United States and the determination of the extent to which the experiences in that country are applicable to other areas.

A striking difference in the situation of the American Negro arises because the population ratio is almost perfectly

adapted for the maximum number of contacts. Though the Negroes form only ten per cent. of the total population of the country, they form from twenty to thirty per cent. of the population of the southern States, and the Negroes in the North are found in a few large cities. Under such conditions each Negro has opportunity to come into contact with many white people and each white man, in the areas of heavy Negro population, has opportunity to come into contact with many Negroes. This is a totally different situation from that presented in large areas of India and Africa where the representatives of Western culture are relatively few in number and where direct contact with the masses is very limited.

Another difference is that the American Negroes were thrown into immediate contact with white culture and retained only a vestige of their tribal background. They did not come by tribes or even by families, and for that reason were absorbed into the plantation system of the South. Their whole happiness in the new land depended upon the rapidity with which they learned the language, acquired the habits of work, and became adjusted to the social and moral customs. This process, though it was forced by the institution of slavery, was responsible for the development in a rather short time of a remarkable degree of like-mindedness between the colored and white people in the United States.

The third difference arises from the fact that the Negroes came into a land with developing cultural and economic resources. The young country was vigorous in expanding European civilization. It developed early the economic and spiritual resources necessary for sharing with an alien group. The struggle for existence was not sufficiently acute to compel the majority group to become intolerant.

These unique conditions—the numerical balance of the races, the compulsory nature of the adjustment, and the spiritual and economic surplus of the country—were largely responsible for the situation which led Lord Bryce to observe that the Negroes of the United States have made more

progress in sixty years than any other group in history in an equal period of time.

Race prejudice is virtually the same psychological phenomenon in America as elsewhere. It manifests itself in attitudes of superiority, slights put upon the backward race, exploitation, and occasional violence.

The attitudes of slavery have continued to some extent even after the abolition of the institution. During slavery the status of the Negro crystallized. After emancipation few were trained or able to change their occupations or living habits. White people assumed that subordination was the natural or divinely decreed status of the Negro, and Negroes had a tradition of subordination to live down. It was but a step from the slave cabin to the alley house in the city, and the latter was thought to be the natural habitat of the Negro. Though Negroes have made tremendous progress since emancipation, these attitudes are manifest still in no small portion of the population.

Added to the attitudes of slavery have been the attitudes of caste. Negroes on the plantation were either field hands or domestics, and this gave them a caste status in the minds of the employing class. Negroes now enter all professions, trades, and businesses, but the label of caste is still attached to them by many people.

Before attempting to summarize the forces which have been operating to overcome the obstacles to better understanding between the races, it is well to deal with two popular fears which have manifested themselves in the past, inhibiting people from aiding the progress of the Negro.

At first some people feared that what the Negro gained the white man would lose; or, in other words, they feared that the progress of the Negro would be made at the expense of the white race. Fears of this type are the most potent reinforcement for prejudice. An increasing number of people are realizing that such fear is baseless. The members of both groups are learning in many ways that they are mutually dependent and that each has a contribution to make to the national life. In health, in economic production, and in

education not only does the Negro not progress at the expense of the white neighbor, but his progress facilitates the progress of others. It is increasingly clear that Booker Washington spoke a homely truth when he said, "You cannot hold a man in a ditch without staying there with him."

It was also feared that, with material and intellectual progress, the Negro would become a different being, would be transformed into an unpleasant neighbor and an undesirable member of the community. This fear, also, has proved groundless. Judging by the criteria of crime, insanity, and health, one may see that the Negro is standing the strain of civilization without manifesting alarming pathological symptoms. True, the Negro rates of insanity, arrest, and death are all higher than those of the white race, but not so much higher as might be expected in a group of people during a period of adjustment and in a group situated on a lower economic level. The difference is not sufficient to warrant the feeling that Western civilization is damaging to colored people. In fact, suicide is very rare among Negroes, and this, in itself, indicates an accommodation to life as they live it. It is significant that the death- and crime-rates decrease with education and a rising standard of living. Education and public-health work have materially reduced mortality among Negroes and the records of graduates of many schools show that comparatively few are ever embroiled with the law. Thus the educated and progressive Negro becomes a more desirable rather than a less desirable citizen and neighbor.

II. UNSOLVED DIFFICULTIES

The prejudices and fears which surround race relations have led to certain problems which are vexing and difficult.

Segregation

One of the issues on which there is no substantial agreement is the policy of separation of the races. A certain amount of separation comes about normally through the solidarity of the two groups and the attraction of like to like.

Other types of separation are based on specialization of service for Negroes. These occasion little comment. The third type of separation, however, based on legal enactment or social pressure, presents a wide divergence of opinion.

Separation of the enforced type occurs in railway, omnibus, and street-railway travel, in schools, and in public places such as hotels, restaurants, and theaters, and is occasionally attempted in residence neighborhoods. Theoretically the North and the South present opposite policies as to this type of segregation. In the South, statutes prescribe separation on common carriers, in schools, and in public places. In the North, statutes forbid discrimination on account of color. Despite the statutes in the North, separation of the races has tended to increase with the large influx of Negroes into northern cities. As the Negroes have increased, some northern cities have attempted separate schools and some theater and restaurant owners employ subtle means to exclude Negroes or to concentrate them in definite parts of the house regardless of the law.

The manner of the administration of segregation is often as galling to the Negro as the fact of separation. In public places the administration of rules is entrusted to ushers, doormen, and porters, and these are not always tactful people. Local customs of administration differ so widely from place to place that the Negro traveling public is constantly embarrassed. At one place they may ride in the elevator with white people and at another they must use separate elevators; at one place they enter the railway station through the same gate with white people and at another they use a different gate; at one place they are seated at the front of the street car and at another at the rear. All of this is illogical and confusing and often administered by employees who are unduly harsh to colored people.

As illogical as these arrangements may seem, it must be remembered that they are based on long-standing custom, and having the sanction of tradition are not subject to reason but are governed by the usual emotions which control traditional habits.

To the mind of the white man favoring segregation, separation is a symbol of the resolution to maintain racial integrity and a means of reducing racial friction. To the mind of the intelligent Negro, separation is an unnecessary degradation, a badge of inferiority. He feels that any lessening of contacts robs him of the chance to assimilate culture. On the other hand, Negroes realize that separation in schools and in churches creates opportunities for Negro preachers and teachers which otherwise would not be possible, and it enables them to gain experience in administering their own institutions which otherwise would be difficult to secure. There is little doubt that segregation, no matter how carefully worked out, usually results in discrimination against the segregated group. All in all, the problem of segregation has many angles and will probably be solved by time alone. In the last analysis it would seem that friction and dissatisfaction will arise from any form of contact or of enforced separation of the races which is not mutually agreeable to both.

Violence

Prejudice often is the cloak for violence against the weaker race. When economic jealousies are aroused or when an inter-racial homicide or rape has occurred, the violent passions of the mob are particularly likely to be aroused.

At present, violence is on the decline, but much remains to be done to eliminate it. The annual average number of lynchings has declined from over 100 to approximately twenty-five, but that is still twenty-five too many. Studies of lynching show that the social and economic conditions from which violence arises are complex. Economic jealousy seems to play as great a part as crime. A large proportion of the cases of violence handled by the Inter-racial Commission involved economic conflict as an important factor. Again, the mob-spirit is not uniformly distributed. Certain counties acquire the mob-habit and develop a disregard for law. In these, one outbreak succeeds another frequently,

while in other counties violence is rare or wholly absent. Experience has shown that violence is efficiently controlled by the cultivation of a law-abiding public sentiment, and of courage and determination among law-enforcement officers. Various measures have been tried:—agitation and advocacy of more stringent legislation by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; propaganda through the pulpit by the Federal Council of Churches; and the prosecution of mob members, the promotion of propaganda, and the encouragement of law officers by the Inter-racial Commission. All of these are undoubtedly influential in reducing the virulence of mob psychology, but the campaign of elimination is not yet completely successful.

The Ballot

The participation of Negroes in government is another matter on which practice varies from State to State. In general the rule may be laid down that the greater the proportion which Negroes form of the total population, the less do they participate in government. This is because of the fear of Negro domination in areas heavily Negro.

This fear originated after the Civil War in Reconstruction days when the white people were virtually disfranchised and the Negroes placed in control of the governmental machinery. This sudden enfranchisement of ex-slaves in a period of bitterness and turmoil resulted in painful experiences for both races. The Reconstruction period has not faded from memory sufficiently to dispel the fear of a repetition of such experiences in the South. In these States the constitutional amendment forbidding disfranchisement on account of race or color is met by literacy and property qualifications for voting which bar the masses of Negroes. These tests are often administered in such a way as to permit practically all white people to vote whether they meet the qualifications or not.

In the States with large Negro populations the Negro vote is negligible. In the border States and northern States Negroes vote regularly in general elections, but in the south-

ern States they are barred by the Democratic party from voting in primary elections of that party inasmuch as the Democratic candidates are chosen in a white Democratic primary.

III. INDIVIDUAL HELPFULNESS

Long before any organized effort for racial amity was launched there existed a tremendous amount of individual friendship and mutual aid in the face-to-face relationships of life. The traveler in the South who expects everywhere to find racial hostility is surprised at the prevailing friendly relationship between individuals of the two races.

This manifests itself concretely in:

1. Aid in farming and farm buying.
2. Aid in family problems and home buying.
3. Aid in difficulties with the law.
4. Aid in securing an education.

Negroes own over 200,000 farms in the South and on these farms mortgages amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars are held. Most of the mortgage money has been loaned by white banks and individuals interested in helping the Negro to acquire his land. Besides actual money, much neighborly advice is also exchanged between farmers.

Broken and destitute Negro families are often cared for by charitable institutions, most of which are supported by white donations. Not all this help goes from white to colored, either, as is indicated by the following story of her girlhood told by a prominent colored woman. Her mother, an expert seamstress, heard that the two daughters of her former owner were in greatly reduced circumstances. In order that her girl might appreciate the friendship which existed between the families, she helped her make a number of fine garments with her own hands and had her carry them several hundred miles in order to present them personally to the white women and pay them a visit. Many true stories of this type are told, illustrative of aid to former masters' families joyfully given by friendly colored people.

As in the case of farms, many mortgages have been negotiated to help colored families buy their homes. These have been placed on colored homes, largely through the help of white people and in white banks and mortgage companies.

In starting businesses, also, Negroes have received much friendly advice and financial assistance from white men. A recent study by the University of North Carolina, during which several hundred Negro business men were interviewed, indicated that white men had been instrumental in helping the great majority of them on their careers, especially during the early stages.

These friendly acts and the resulting individual sympathy have been greatly stimulated by the Christian teachings of the Church in America. It is from the Golden Rule and the parables and the proverbs on charity that the inspiration for many of these acts comes. Without such a Christian basis of individual goodwill and mutual aid it would be impossible to build organized inter-racial coöperation from overhead associations.

IV. COÖPERATION THROUGH RELIGION

The adjustment of racial relations is a fruitful field for the practical application of Christian principles, for the translation of the social teachings of Jesus into actual life. For this reason the churches, both white and black, have always been influential in determining racial policies. The sentiment of the churches, however, has not always been unified. They divided North and South on the issue of slavery and some of the denominations have never re-united, largely because of the issue of the Negro. Negro and white congregations are divided in the South and until recently there was little contact between the two.

The principal function of the Church in race relations has, undoubtedly, been the creation of a Christian attitude toward humanity. The teachings of Christ, with their emphasis upon just humanitarianism, sanctity of personality,

and neighborliness, have been powerful in their influence upon public opinion. These have been largely responsible for the neighborliness described in the previous section, which works itself out in friendly mutual aid between individuals. It is also significant that when the Inter-racial Commission [1] sought to discover those local leaders who were willing to take the initiative in starting local inter-racial committees, they found their constituency largely among the devout church-members of southern communities, and found the church organizations among those most ready to cooperate in spreading the movement.

The cultivation of the Christian attitude in the individual church-member is therefore the largest contribution of organized Christianity to racial adjustment. Thus the churches create an atmosphere in which the secular agencies can accomplish results for racial betterment.

Moreover, the churches in America have gone considerably farther than moulding the attitudes of individual members. They have been directly influential in alleviating conditions in three principal directions:

1. For a considerable formative period they were active in the evangelization of the Negro.

2. After the Civil War, they were active in founding and maintaining Negro educational institutions.

3. Recently they have given aid to Negro congregations through mission church and preacher-training activities.

The evangelization of Negroes has passed through some interesting vicissitudes. For a time slavery was justified by European sovereigns on the ground that it was a means of bringing the Gospel to so many of the heathen. In fact, several rulers stipulated that slaves should first have em-

[1] This Commission grew out of a Conference held in 1919 under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. It represented all war-working organizations interested in inter-racial relations and included both white and colored people of the North and of the South. The organization was known at first as the Committee on After-war Coöperation and was supported largely by the War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association (see page 70 of this volume).

braced Christianity. There is no record, however, of active insistence on this principle.

For almost 100 years anything like wholesale evangelization of slaves was held back by the feeling that it was illegal to hold a Christian in slavery. Scattered records of baptism of slaves indicate that even this period did not entirely lack conscientious owners. Immediately after this period (in 1701) the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts began its activities, its primary purpose being the evangelization of Negroes.

Finally the slave-holders squared their consciences with the existing situation by some fine-drawn logic which concluded that the temporal and spiritual conditions of men were entirely distinct spheres. An interesting phrasing of this conclusion is found in a Virginia statute of 1667:

"Baptism doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom, in order that diverse masters freed from doubt may more carefully endeavor the propagation of Christianity." Similar re-assuring laws were passed in several of the colonies.

From this time evangelization proceeded rapidly, and leaders of the type of Cotton Mather, John Eliot, General Oglethorpe, and Count Zinzendorf took a lively interest in furthering the work.

After the foreign missionary work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the first missions were established by the Moravians, operating from North Carolina. They made their influence felt throughout the slave-holding section. The next widely-organized campaign came when John Wesley introduced Methodism and, in 1769, sent missionaries to the South who preached to white and black alike. The Roman Catholics always followed the policy of ministering to both races.

Thus the Revolutionary War found the evangelization of slaves well under way. In 1800 there were about 50,000 Negro church-members. From 1822 to about 1835, however, a reaction of fear swept over the country, caused by the slave uprisings of that period. Laws were passed in a num-

ber of States forbidding Negroes, whether slave or free, to preach or even assemble off their home plantation. The most stringent of these was the South Carolina law:

"It shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free Negroes, mulattoes, or mestizos, even in company with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or religious worship, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same."

But joint worship with white congregations and plantation meetings continued, with the result that the Negro church-membership increased from 50,000 in 1800 to 468,000 in 1860—ninefold.

The more enlightened attitude of the devout Christians of the South always influenced them to share Christian fellowship. General Stonewall Jackson and General Robert E. Lee were teachers in colored Sunday-school classes in which they were very devoted to their duties. They are only outstanding examples of thousands who included the black members of their households in family prayer services or in religious instruction.

The bitterness of Civil War and Reconstruction opened a gulf between southern white and Negro congregations, and from that time forward the evangelization of Negroes was carried on largely by the Negroes themselves. White denominations, however, principally those in the North, focused their attention upon contributions toward the education of the newly freed people. The stimulus to building educational institutions is more fully discussed under the topic of education. It is mentioned here to emphasize the fact that the services of white churches have not been confined to evangelization. The value of education, not only in the money contributions, but also in the work done in a spirit of consecration by the missionary teachers who were sent into these schools, can hardly be estimated.

The American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church, the Freedmen's Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Roman

Catholic Church, and the Northern Methodist Church all maintain active support of colored mission churches.

One point at which the white denominations can be of particular value to colored churches is in aid given to develop preacher-training facilities. The rapid growth of colored congregations has expanded them beyond the supply of trained preachers available. Several years ago Dr. James H. Dillard, of the Slater and Jeanes Foundations, realized the need for better trained preachers in the rural districts, and in order to meet this need he started a preachers' institute at a rural boarding-school. Preachers from the surrounding rural districts were assembled for a short course of instruction in the fundamentals. Many could not read or write. They were given a course of study which appealed to their imagination by including such subjects as ministerial correspondence, church accounting, etc., which were merely reading, writing, and arithmetic adapted to adults. Much improvement was noted in this short intensive course and the institute is now an annual affair. The Southern Methodist Church holds similar institutes for the colored Methodist Episcopal ministers in several sections. This is a much-needed type of activity, because the annual output of men from theological schools is wholly inadequate to fill the gaps caused by death in the ranks of the 20,000 Negro ministers and the whole future of the Negro church is dependent upon raising the level of training of these ministers.

In influence the Negro church is more potent than any other Negro institution. There were (in 1916) in the United States, 4,600,000 Negro church-members constituting forty-five per cent. of all Negroes, and 37,300,000 white church-members constituting thirty-eight per cent. of all white people. The high percentage of membership does not alone tell the full story of the influence of the Negro church, for the institution occupies a unique position in the community. At the close of the Civil War it was the one institution and the preacher was the one leader for focusing the activities of the freedmen. As a result it assumed a number of functions.

Many adults came to Sunday school to learn to read and parochial schools grew up. Labor bureaus were operated. Sick and death benefit societies grew from churches and evolved into large life insurance companies. The Negro church has held much of this influence and to-day it offers an exceptional field for institutional and community-center activities.

The separation of colored congregations into large Negro denominations has reduced the direct coöperation between white and colored in local communities to a minimum. There is an occasional exchange of pulpits, and sometimes white churches extend aid in building Negro churches. Anything like formal coöperation among the churches themselves was, however, lacking until the Federal Council of Churches recently organized their Commission on Race Relations. This was organized two or three years after the Inter-racial Commission came into being. In this Commission the representatives of the leading white and colored national denominational bodies meet jointly and make plans and policies. The Commission has a white and a colored secretary who further church coöperation. Locally the Commission on Race Relations endeavors so to relate colored churches to the local federation that they will benefit by the inter-church coöperation which these federations sponsor.

The general commission has promoted a national inter-racial congress, has aided in the anti-lynching campaign, and has stimulated the observance of the inter-racial Sunday, when material is supplied to all ministers for sermons on race relations.

In addition to the churches, several non-sectarian organizations, notably the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, have been active in urging the Christian attitude toward race relations. The Christian Associations extend their usual religious and social activities to colored people in many communities, but besides this their work in race relations is especially notable among students.

One of the first intellectual approaches to the white stu-

dents of the South on the subject came from Dr. W. D. Weatherford, then Y. M. C. A. Student Secretary for the Southern Region. Dr. Weatherford prepared a simple text adapted to volunteer study groups in both white and colored colleges and promoted these groups through the Young Men's Christian Association. Since that time, instruction in the facts about the history, economic background, and social life of the Negro race have been more and more included in the curricula of the colleges. The student secretaries, both of the Young Men's Christian Association and of the Young Women's Christian Association, are active in promoting forums, study courses, lectures, and inter-racial conferences among students. One of the most interesting types of contact is in the student forums promoted in communities where white and colored colleges are close enough for students to meet together. These forums meet under the auspices of the Christian Associations and the white and the black students discuss their mutual problems of campus life. The Christian Association influence on race attitudes has extended somewhat into the high schools through discussions in the "Hi-Y" clubs and at older boys' conferences. This work among students with the resultant substitution of reason for prejudice is one which lends hope for more substantial progress from the rising generation than from the past generations.

The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association have also been active in carrying their program of religious living and recreation to the colored people. Each organization sponsors about 100 branches whose work is specialized for Negro communities. In 1910 Mr. Julius Rosenwald offered to pay $25,000 toward the cost of erecting any Y. M. C. A. building costing $100,000 or more, and in 1920 he renewed this offer. Fifteen large and well-equipped City Association buildings were erected under these provisions and the programs of these Associations were greatly strengthened by this generosity.

All in all, Christian organizations have been active in a number of fields. They have not revolutionized race rela-

tions, nor have they always lived up to the hopes of their most advanced members. They have, however, demonstrated the unique power of Christianity to function for the good when confronted with a complicated racial situation.

V. COÖPERATION IN EDUCATION [1]

Education has been a most useful tool in adapting the colored people to American culture. Up to the time of the Civil War, education consisted of the discipline and industrial training of slavery, the teaching of the Church, and what the slaves were able to learn from their contact with white people. While this was true of the great majority, there were some schools for the free Negroes. As early as 1744 two trained colored men were set over a school in Charleston, which continued for a number of years. Later the free colored people of Charleston and of several other places maintained their own schools.[2] It has been estimated that about ten per cent. of the Negroes at the beginning of the Civil War had the rudiments of education.

Education for white people in the South was that of "patriarchal dispensation." Free schools, where they existed, bore the stigma of charity. Each man was supposed to provide for the education of his own children. It is true that the first state colleges were established in the South, but because of the lack of public elementary schools, the colleges were available only for those who could afford private preparatory instruction. Thus the idea of Negro education had to grow alongside the idea of public education in general.

Soon after the beginning of the Civil War the northern army found itself burdened with many ignorant Negro refugees. In 1861 there were colonies of destitute Negroes at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, and Hilton Head, South Carolina. At first these were under the charge of the army,

[1] This section was prepared by Mr. Clark Foreman.

[2] See: Dickerman, G. S., in report by Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education in the United States*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917. 2 vols.

but later, as a result of appeals to the North, Freedmen's Aid Societies were started. The first, organized at Boston in February, 1862, was called the Boston Educational Commission. It adopted the purpose of effecting "the industrial, social, intellectual, moral, and religious improvement" of the freed blacks. Other societies were formed in other parts of this country and also in Europe. Later they were consolidated. The first work they took up was the urgently needed physical relief. "By the spring of 1865 the educational work of the society had become firmly established, and when the close of the war brought the certainty of a stable future, plans were laid for normal schools to train southern teachers, preferably Negroes, for southern needs. This idea was developed as time went on."[1] In 1865 the National Government established the Freedmen's Bureau and this gradually took over the work of the various societies. In 1870 when the Federal Government appropriation for Negro education was expended, the Freedmen's Bureau was supporting 2,677 schools with 3,300 teachers and 149,581 pupils.

In the work of the Freedmen's Aid Societies, "not less than six millions of money were expended, several thousand persons were engaged in the work, and 500,000 pupils received instruction. Relief was extended to thousands, labor was stimulated in many ways, patience and industry were inculcated, and the Negro was carefully drilled for the duties of his new position."[2] Commenting further on this work Mr. Julius H. Parmelee says, "Throughout the whole of their history, the Freedmen's Societies received some cooperation from the South. . . . Independent action was also taken by some southern agencies. In 1866, for example, a convention of the Episcopal Church of South Carolina resolved that as their destiny was most closely identified with that of the colored people, they (i.e., the southern whites) were best fitted to minister to the needs of the blacks. A

[1] Parmelee, Julius H., in report by Thomas Jesse Jones on *Negro Education in the United States*, Vol. I, p. 285.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 292–3.

diocesan board of missions was organized and secular and religious instruction was instituted. Similar action was taken by the Episcopal Church of Virginia, the Southern Methodists, and other religious bodies of the South."[1] But the chief difficulty with these scattering efforts was that the great mass of colored people were never reached by these schools. A public school system was necessary to instruct such large numbers and the South was neither convinced of the necessity of public schools nor able to support a double system.

For the purpose of aiding in the development of the South, made destitute by the Civil War, George Peabody, of Massachusetts, who had achieved a fortune in London, donated in 1867 about $2,000,000 and later added another million. This gift was known as the Peabody Education Fund and, under a Board of Trust, was wisely used as the donor had intended for the development of public free schools in the South. First, elementary schools were encouraged in centers of population, then state systems of public schools, and then state normal schools. The money was always used for black and white alike, and by helping only public schools, it was very influential in the extension of the free-school idea over the southern States. Finally, in 1910, the trustees of the Peabody Education Fund wound up their trust by applying the principal of the Fund to the endowment of the George Peabody College for Teachers, to schools of education in state universities, and to other purposes.

Following the stimulus of the Peabody Fund, the Conferences for Education in the South were widespread in their influence. In 1898, there was held the first conference on Christian education in the South. Dr. Wickliffe Rose says of this meeting, "Of the thirty-four members enrolled, twenty were ministers of the Gospel. Interest was centered primarily in church schools, organized and maintained for the education of the colored race. The dominating aim seemed to be to make these schools more effective in the

[1] Parmelee, Julius H., in report by Thomas Jesse Jones on *Negro Education in the United States*, Vol. I, p. 291.

development of Christian character." It is significant that Dr. Frissell, then Principal of Hampton, made the opening address of this conference. The work of this Conference was gradually broadened as it stimulated increasing interest both in the North and in the South.

It was greatly strengthened by the activity of Mr. Robert C. Ogden, who brought parties of the nation's wealthiest people on special observation tours so that they could actually see conditions. In the sixteen annual meetings held by the Conference there was no discrimination against either race, but many fervent speeches were made by Southerners in support of better education for Negroes.

In 1901 the Conference decided on the organization of a permanent Board for the purpose of distributing educational propaganda and to conduct a bureau of information. This suggestion resulted in the forming of the Southern Education Board. The Conference voted that Mr. Ogden should appoint such a Board and that he himself should be a member.

Also in 1901, Mr. Morris K. Jesup invited to his home in Bar Harbor, Maine, a number of gentlemen officially acquainted with educational problems in the South, in order to consider ways of promoting enlarged views of the situation and also means of securing more pecuniary assistance. At this meeting the necessity of coöperation was stressed and it was brought out that the problem was composed of two phases: (1) the encouragement of the campaign for education in the South, and (2) the work in the North to create interest in southern education and to draw out support for it.

As a result of this meeting the first gathering of the Southern Education Board was arranged to coincide with the first official meeting of the men interested in securing aid from the North. So at the Conference for Education in the South, held in Athens, Georgia, in 1902, Mr. Ogden was able to report: "Parallel to the Southern Education Board there has been formed the Board of the General Education Fund for the receipt and disbursement of money for educational purposes. . . . This Board has been placed in funds by

generous friends and has begun active work. Seven gentlemen are members of both Boards. Perfect coöperation is thus secured. In addition the Boards of the Peabody and Slater Funds are represented in both the newly formed Boards, and the outcome of the whole matter is a community of interest that secures harmony and economy and prevents duplication." This quotation explains the beginning of a work which has given a tremendous impetus to education in the South and throughout the country as a whole.

The Conference for Education in the South continued to be held annually in different cities of the South until the death of Mr. Ogden. In 1914 it was merged with the Southern Education Association. The latter organization was composed of teachers from the southern States and the fact that the merger was possible illustrates the progress that was made in the South during the thirteen years that Mr. Ogden was president of the Conference.

The Southern Education Board continued to encourage education. Circulars were distributed; later pamphlets called *Southern Notes* were published giving information to the newspapers for propaganda; and finally a weekly called *Southern Education* was published by the Board. The death of Mr. Ogden was felt deeply in this work. In 1914 the General Education Board took over the rural school agents of the Southern Education Board at the request of the latter organization. Soon thereafter, the Southern Education Board was disbanded.

The work of the General Education Board, the other organization mentioned in Mr. Ogden's report, has grown and multiplied. With the generous support of Mr. Rockefeller it has become one of the world's greatest educational foundations. The Board is now coöperating with the state departments of education in the following States: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Definite programs of improvement have been planned for every State in which this work is conducted. The Board employs executive officers, two

general field agents to devote their entire time to Negro education.

In addition to the appropriations made to carry on this program with the state departments of education, the General Education Board has assisted the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation to enlarge its work of assisting counties in employing competent supervising industrial teachers.

The Board has also coöperated with the John F. Slater Fund and public-school officials in the southern States in the development of county training-schools for Negroes. In these schools young men and women are trained to teach in the small rural schools. The training schools offer two or three years of high-school work with a brief course in Teacher Training in the upper classes.

"A considerable proportion of them are now in a fair way to offer high-school courses of three or four years. In order to augment the income available for the managers of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, the Board has during the past year contributed to these organizations the sum of $142,000." [1] Living conditions of the teachers employed in these county training-schools have been improved. New homes have been built so that good teachers can be secured and so that they may set an example for the other people of the community.

Another important phase of the Board's work is the aid given to summer schools for Negro teachers. These schools, conducted by the various state departments of education, give additional training to thousands of teachers in academic and industrial work and secure their coöperation in community work, such as Red Cross activities and food conservation.

"Thus between 1916 and 1925 the total number of summer schools for teachers has increased from twenty-six to sixty-two, the enrolment from 1,331 to 10,727; the contribution of the Board from $4,000 towards a total of $7,041 to $25,000 towards a total of over $100,000." [2] Traveling

[1] *Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1925–6*, p. 32.
[2] *Idem.*

expenses have been paid by the Board for teachers selected to attend the Hampton Institute Summer School. These teachers are chosen annually by the state agents for rural schools. Aid to defray traveling expense has also been given to hundreds of teachers from the Rosenwald schools who attend the Tuskegee Institute Summer Schools.

The Board has also made annual contributions to the current expense of certain selected schools for Negroes. Several years ago an appropriation of $165,000 was made for the rehabilitation of the plant of Morehouse College, at Atlanta, Georgia.

The following statement from the Board's report for 1925–6 shows the plan followed by the Board in making contributions:

"The southern States are themselves developing normal schools and colleges of agricultural and mechanical arts. Support for maintenance comes from the State; the relatively large capital sums needed for buildings and equipment are at times difficult to procure. During the year just concluded, the sum of $414,000 has been appropriated towards a total of $1,205,900 for improved physical plants in institutions of this type, mostly State-supported, in Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Virginia, and West Virginia. To enable privately managed colleges, such as, for example, Jackson College (Jackson, Mississippi) and Leland College (Baker, Louisiana), to better their teacher-training facilities, the Board has appropriated $6,500 towards $13,000 for the construction and equipment of practice schools. Other building projects have been assisted by appropriations of $172,000 towards a total of $367,000. Among institutions in this group may be mentioned Fort Valley High and Industrial School (Fort Valley, Georgia), Spelman College (Atlanta, Georgia), Tougaloo College (Tougaloo, Mississippi), Christianburg Industrial Institute (Cambria, Virginia), Southern Christian Institute (Edwards, Mississippi), and Straight College (New Orleans, Louisiana)."[1]

The total amount spent by the General Education Board

[1] *Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1925–6*, pp. 4–5.

for Negro schools from the date of the Board's foundation in 1902 to June 30, 1926, was $6,721,212.73.[2]

The amounts spent by the Board for other phases of Negro education are given in the following table:

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS[3]

(From the date of the Board's foundation in 1902 to June 30, 1926)

For Negroes	*Amount Appropriated*
Association of Colleges for Negro Youths	$500.00
Colleges and schools	9,027,599.95
County training-schools	797,878.00
Expenses of special students at summer schools	103,594.85
Home-makers' club	129,430.29
John F. Slater Fund	156,474.89
Medical schools	798,203.32
Negro education in southern States	100,000.00
Negro Rural School Fund	691,450.00
Rural school agents	843,380.36
Scholarships	77,622.30
Summer schools	230,460.38
Survey of science teaching	3,297.65
Training teachers in private and denominational schools and colleges (formerly critic teachers)	84,478.51
	$13,044,370.50

In 1882 Mr. John F. Slater of Norwich, Connecticut, gave $1,000,000 for the establishment of the John F. Slater Fund. The purpose of the Fund was to extend the educational facilities of the Negroes. The trustees of this fund have emphasized the need of industrial training, and a higher standard for the teachers employed in the public schools. Appropriations are made annually for special educational work, contributions are made to twenty colleges and universities; and a substantial sum is given for the work of the county training-schools. The first county training-schools were established in 1911–12 at the request of our county superintendents. The proposition of the Slater Board is to

[2] For an excellent discussion of Negro Education and the work of the General Education Board in this field see Chapter VIII of *The General Education Board, 1902–14.*

[3] *Annual Report of the General Education Board, 1925–6*, pp. 45–6.

appropriate $500 for salaries of teachers with these conditions:

1. The school property shall belong to the State, county, or district, and the school shall be a part of the public-school system.

2. There shall be an appropriation for salaries of not less than $1,000 from public funds raised by State, county, or district taxation.

3. The length of the term shall be at least eight months.

4. The teaching shall extend through the eighth year, with the intention of adding grades as soon as practicable.

The following table indicates the development which has followed the establishment of these county training-schools:

JOHN F. SLATER FUND

County Training-schools

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils in H. S. Grades	For Salaries from Public Funds	For Salaries through Slater Board	Amount for Salaries from Public Funds	Amount Contributed by General Education Board for Building and Equipment
1912	4	20	77	$3,344	$2,000	$836	
1913	4	23	74	4,612	2,000	1,153	
1914	8	41	184	10,696	4,000	1,337	
1915	17	85	267	17,986	8,091	1,058	
1916	27	135	404	37,395	13,500	1,385	$5,488
1917	42	252	630	55,020	18,660	1,310	8,618
1918	52	308	948	78,533	25,840	1,510	11,656
1919	70	402	1,130	131,158	39,037	1,874	18,477
1920	107	624	1,649	239,252	52,894	2,236	36,733
1921	142	848	2,247	340,821	61,500	2,400	75,271
1922	156	964	3,782	401,948	59,750	2,577	60,689
1923	179	1,102	4,723	513,193	63,300	2,867	56,000
1924	204	1,297	6,189	594,268	69,300	2,913	54,292
1925	233	1,563	7,555	767,172	70,028	3,293	60,461
1926	275	1,889	9,483	970,935[1]	97,875	3,530	65,930

[1] Total amount session 1925–6 for all purposes from Public Tax Funds, $1,270,867.

The most recent report from the John F. Slater Fund states that the number of county training-schools is now 308. It also reports that at the end of the present session about twenty of the schools will be taken from the list of county training-schools and classed as accredited high schools. Over 6,100 pupils are enrolled in high school grades, and reports indicate that the great majority of county superintendents thoroughly appreciate their value as places to which the more advanced pupils of the county can go and receive slightly better training than that offered by the ordinary rural schools.[1]

In 1888 another fund amounting altogether to $1,500,000 was left for Negro education in the South by Mr. Daniel Hand. Mr. Hand, although born in Connecticut, moved to Augusta, Georgia, in 1817 at the age of sixteen, and lived there until after the Civil War. This fund is spent under the direction of the American Missionary Association. The Cushing Fund of $33,500 was left for the education of colored people by Miss Emeline Cushing, of Boston, who died in 1895.

Mention has already been made of the founding of Hampton Institute in 1867 by General Armstrong and the American Missionary Association. Under his leadership this school worked out a system of industrial education which has served as a model for a great many schools which now exist all over the world for white and colored children. But this system was only a part of the philosophy of education which was evolved at this institute. General Armstrong and his successor, Dr. Hollis B. Frissell, learned that education, to be most effective, must take the community into consideration. This realization dictated the teaching of courses that would serve the students to make "a life as well as a living," and also led the way to a spirit of coöperation with the community which has governed the principles of Hampton, and which has had through the friends of Hampton an enormous influence on the development of the South.

Booker T. Washington, one of Hampton's most famous

[1] *The Basis of Racial Adjustment*, pp. 186–7.

graduates, carried the Hampton system of education into the heart of the "Black Belt" with the founding of Tuskegee Institute in 1891. The activity of Mr. Washington throughout his lifetime was one of the greatest factors in the readjustment of racial relations in the South. His famous address delivered at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 had a tremendous effect on the people of the South and has been widely quoted. Mr. Washington's work and personality attracted many of the philanthropists who have since played a big part in the establishment of more adequate facilities for Negro education.

In 1908 Miss Anna T. Jeanes of Philadelphia gave $1,000,000, the income of which was to be used in "helping the small rural schools" for colored children in the South. Under the direction of a wise board and with Dr. James H. Dillard of Virginia as its chairman and president, the Jeanes Fund has greatly influenced rural education in the South. The particular sphere adopted for emphasis by the Board was that of improving the rural teachers. By financing itinerant teachers, who, in coöperation with the public schools, visited the rural schools, the very low standard that once existed in the South has been considerably raised. During the session ending June 30, 1926, the Jeanes Fund coöperated with public-school boards and superintendents in 291 counties in fourteen States.

"The 305 supervising teachers, paid partly by the counties and partly through the Jeanes Fund, visited regularly in these counties 9,509 country schools, making in all 47,153 visits, and raising for the purpose of school improvement $505,392. The total amount of salaries paid to the supervising teachers was $261,918, of which the sum of $142,089 was paid by the public-school authorities and $119,829 through the Jeanes Fund.

"The business of these traveling teachers, working under the direction of the county superintendents, is to help and encourage the rural teachers; to introduce into the small country schools simple home industries; to give talks and lessons on sanitation, cleanliness, and community problems;

to promote the improvement of schoolhouses and school grounds; and to organize clubs for the betterment of the school and neighborhood."[1]

In 1911 the Phelps-Stokes Fund was founded in compliance with the will of Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes of New York, who left approximately $1,000,000, for this purpose. The greater part of this fund is used for the promotion of Negro education in the South. Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, the Educational Director of the Fund, has with the coöperation of the Federal Bureau of Education made a thorough study of the institutions of higher learning for colored people. He has also been a promoter of many of the forward movements that have been started in the South, including the Inter-racial Commission. The Phelps-Stokes Fund has contributed scholarships for white students of southern universities who desire to make studies of the racial situation. It has also appropriated money for the work of the University Commission on Race Questions, the Southern Publicity Committee, and other such organizations working for inter-racial goodwill in the South. Coöperation with other boards has always been one of the policies of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. In fact this coöperation between the boards has been a very significant part of the whole development of inter-racial coöperation. Dr. James H. Dillard in his report of the first fourteen years of work done by the Jeanes Fund says, "It is little short of wonderful how the various agencies dovetail and support each other. The General Education Board, the Rosenwald Fund, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Slater Fund (especially through the county training-schools, which are also aided by the General Education Board, the Carnegie Corporation, and Mr. Rosenwald), the Jeanes Fund, and the various church and missionary boards are all not only doing their work, but doing it in the spirit of coöperation with one another and with the state departments of education."

In 1914 the greatest need of Negro education in the South was better rural schoolhouses. Through the different funds

[1] Bulletin from the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, 1926.

teachers and demonstration agents had been supplied, but all were discouraged by the dismal hovels that were so often used as schoolhouses. Mr. Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, in 1914 "announced through Tuskegee Institute that he would give money to assist in the erection of rural school buildings for Negroes in the South." According to the plan Mr. Rosenwald gives a proportion of the cost of any rural school building that meets certain very helpful specifications which he has published. Thousands of rural schools in the South have taken advantage of this offer. The teachers and agents of the other funds have worked to put Rosenwald Schools throughout the South, and wherever they have succeeded the community has been greatly benefited. Donations to this Fund have come from public-school funds, one-third from the local people, and one-fifth from Mr. Rosenwald. Over 3,900 schools have been built under the Rosenwald plan at a cost of more than $17,000,000. More than 1,400 of these schools have a capacity of three or more teachers.

The work is carried on by a general agent, a special agent at Tuskegee, and Rosenwald agents connected with the state department of education in several States. Their program is promoted through letters, press articles, and information circulars, and through coöperation with school boards, and school-improvement societies.

Although the Carnegie Foundation does not carry on extensive work in the field of race relations, it has coöperated with certain Negro institutions, such as Fisk University, in some very notable projects pertaining to Negro education. This foundation also makes an annual appropriation of $10,000 to assist the Slater Fund in the county training-school program.

The great majority of elementary and high schools for Negroes have been provided by the regular agencies in city, county, and state governments. Although in many instances the Negroes have not received their fair proportion of the taxes, they have now colleges, high schools, and grammar schools supported by public taxation. In the South the

allocation of taxes is done by white men and the per-capita expenditure for white pupils is much greater than that for Negroes. The present situation indicates a great improvement, since the present expenditure for Negro pupils approximates the expenditure for white pupils of ten years ago and there are now 2,250,000 pupils in colored public schools. In 1924, there were, 2,159,177 colored pupils in the public schools of the sixteen southern States, forming 74.4 per cent of all children between the ages of five and seventeen. Only 51,127 (2.8 per cent.) of these, however, were in high-school grades.

The coöperation which the boards have demanded of the white people of the South has been very influential in raising the standard of Negro education. In most instances the State has a supervisor of Negro education as an official of the State. But these supervisors are paid by the General Education Board. This coöperation is growing and usually once the State has made a step forward with outside help, it continues alone when the help is withdrawn.

While the training of the masses in elementary and high schools has been largely the function of public schools, with the stimulation of the General Education Board, the Jeanes and Slater Boards, and the Rosenwald Foundation, the training of leaders has been cared for largely by the colleges and private institutions of the type of Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, Fisk and Howard and Atlanta Universities, Morehouse, Talladega, Lincoln, Shaw, Benedict, Morris, Brown, Wylie, Wilberforce, and other colleges.

The contribution of denominational boards in founding and maintaining these institutions of higher learning has been one of great value. In fact, with the exception of Hampton, Tuskegee, and Howard University, and one state college in each of the southern States, all these institutions were founded and are largely supported by denominational boards. The American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the American Church Institute for Negroes (of the Episcopal Church), the Freedmen's Board of Missions

of the Presbyterian Church, and the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church Board all maintain strong groups of schools.

In the early stages these schools were not only supported by denominational boards, but were also staffed by mission teachers who brought to their work an enthusiasm and training which could have been recruited only through the churches. As rapidly as Negroes have been trained, however, these white missionary teachers have been replaced by Negroes.

VI. COÖPERATION IN AGRICULTURE

Slavery, as it existed in the United States, was an enforced system of agricultural production. It compelled the slaves to adjust themselves to the language, religion, and customs of the country. When the institution was abolished, it was necessary to substitute a coöperative system for the continuation of agricultural production to support the millions of white and colored people in the South who were dependent upon farming to secure the primary necessities of food, shelter, and clothing. The masses of slaves were trained only in agriculture and it was to their especial advantage to be able to utilize this training.

At first the former land-holders cultivated the original plantations with hired labor. To-day, only a few of these old plantations remain intact. A tenant system gradually spread and evolved in the direction of the systems of land tenure in vogue in Europe. The emphasis shifted from the cultivation of large tracts by hired labor to the cultivation of smaller areas by tenants who operate for a share of the crop, by independent renters who pay a fixed rent, and by owners of smaller farms. This shift occurred primarily because of the unwillingness of ambitious Negroes to coöperate on the hired-labor basis. It became more profitable for landlord and tenant to work on a plan mutually satisfactory.

The rapidity with which this breakdown of large farms took place is indicated by conditions in Georgia, a typical cotton State. From 1860 to 1925 the average size of the Georgia farm (i.e., the unit owned by one man whether cultivated by laborers or tenants) declined by about two-thirds.

Several factors made large-scale farming unprofitable. It required the constant and careful supervision of the landowner to secure profits, and many landowners preferred to live in towns and lease the farm. Again, it was more difficult to diversify crops and maintain the fertility of the land, for when the produce is divided on the share basis both landlord and tenant try to produce as much of the money crop (usually cotton or tobacco) as possible. Also, in large-scale farming, the landlord assumes heavy financial burdens in advancing money to finance farm operations and living expenses of tenants. The movement toward tenancy proceeded to the point in 1920 where only forty-nine per cent. of the southern farms were operated by owners and fifty-one per cent. were operated by tenants.

As a rule the change from operation by resident owners to operation by tenants has its disadvantages as well as advantages. Production is lessened by ignorant tenants and land is often allowed to run down. The transition, however, gives the laborer an excellent opportunity to rise in the scale and it releases the landlord from much of the financial burden which he bears when he feeds, clothes, and houses his laborers and depends upon the crop for reimbursement. The more democratic and stable system is neither large-scale production with hired labor nor tenancy, but production by smaller independent landowners. The tenant system is an intermediate step, more democratic and more stable than the system of production by large gangs of day-laborers. As tenants improve in intelligence and as they rise in the scale sufficiently to become landowners, the evils of the system are materially lessened.

The principal types of tenancy and their terms are as follows:

Method of Renting		
Share Cropping	*Share Renting*	*Cash Renting*
	LANDLORD FURNISHES	
Land	Land	Land
House	House	House
Fuel	Fuel	Fuel
One-half of fertilizer	One-fourth or one-third of fertilizer	
	TENANT FURNISHES	
Labor	Labor	Labor
	Work stock	Work stock
	Feed for stock	Feed for stock
	Tools	Tools
	Seeds	Seeds
	Three-fourths or two-thirds of fertilizer	All fertilizers
	LANDLORD RECEIVES	
One-half of crop	One-fourth or one-third of crop	Fixed amount of cash or produce
	TENANT RECEIVES	
One-half of crop	Three-fourths or two-thirds of crop	Entire crop less fixed rental

Thus the tenant scale forms an agricultural ladder for ambitious laborers to climb. If the honesty and ability of the laborer is trusted by the landlord he can rise from laborer to half-share tenant without capital. As he saves enough to purchase a horse and work implements he may receive as his share two-thirds or three-fourths of the crop and thus be stimulated to produce more. As he becomes able to finance his operations completely he may rent land or own it outright and enjoy the full fruits of his labor.

The stability of such a system as against the labor system is evidenced by the fact that when the recent heavy migration to cities began, the areas of cultivation by laborers lost most heavily and the tenants and owners moved less. Farmers are also more stable as they rise in the scale. When each census is taken the question is asked: How long have

you been on this farm? The answers, which indicate stability, tabulate as follows:

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO FARMERS BY LENGTH OF OCCUPANCY OF FARM (1910)

	Owners	*Cash Tenants*	*Share Tenants*
1 year or less	11.5	31.3	57.6
2 to 4 years	22.7	35.0	29.1
5 to 9 years	22.8	17.8	8.8
10 years and over	43.0	15.9	4.5

Considerably over half of the share tenants had been occupying their farms for one year or less and nearly half of the owners had been occupying their farms for ten years and over.

The extent to which the Negro has been able to climb the agricultural ladder is indicated by the fact that, in 1870, 90 per cent. of their number were laborers while in 1920 only 57.5 per cent. of those at work in rural districts were laborers, 32.4 per cent. were tenants, and 10.1 per cent. were owners. In actual numbers this distribution was as follows: laborers, 1,200,000 (of whom about 500,000 are young people working on the home farm); share tenants, 500,000; cash tenants, 200,000; owners, 220,000.

These cash tenants and owners constitute the upper classes of the rural Negroes. They are stable in residence. They produce more diversified crops while the laborers and share tenants are slaves to the one-crop system. They breed more animals. They are taxpayers and usually responsible men. One Negro farm-owner in southern Georgia for many years before his death always brought in the first bale of cotton to be harvested. His interest in his own operations enabled him to produce better than the surrounding white owners using Negro hired help.

Thus the experience has been that as Negro farmers rise in agriculture the South has prospered more. Instead of losing ground as the Negro gained, the white South has gained as the Negro farmer improved in stability and productivity.

The tenant system is therefore a method of coöperation

for production in agriculture. It has not been a perfect system. Difficulties have arisen from exploitation through laxity in the tenant agreement, through the abuses of the credit system, and on the part of a few landlords through the practice of peonage, a system of forced labor. There have been helpful, fair landlords as well as exploiting, greedy landlords. There have been industrious, thrifty tenants as well as shiftless, unreliable tenants. In the words of Dr. DuBois:

"A thrifty Negro in the hands of well-disposed landlords and honest merchants early became an independent landowner. A shiftless, ignorant Negro, in the hands of unscrupulous landlords or Shylocks, became something worse than a slave. The masses of Negroes between the two extremes fared as chance and the weather let them."

In tenancy, as in other forms of coöperation, therefore, the balance is struck between the exploiter and the man of fair dealing on the one side and between the ignorant shirker and the trained industrious worker on the other.

Agricultural education has been fundamental to this progress in farming. Of the direct form of agricultural teaching given to students in school more will be said under the section on education. Besides the work in the schools, much valuable training has been given to the farmer on the job by the farm-demonstration agents. Though they are public officials, these agents are really agricultural missionaries preaching the doctrines of soil-building, good animal-breeding, and crop rotation and diversification. The territory of each of these agents is a county. Their method is to select outstanding farmers and persuade them to cultivate or breed in accordance with scientific methods so that their neighbors may observe in actual practice the benefits of intelligent farming. They also reach the children in the rural schools through corn clubs, pig clubs, canning clubs, etc. In addition to the men agents working with the farmer, a number of counties have as home-demonstration agents women whose training in domestic science is used for the benefit of the farmer's wife.

The system was started about twenty years ago by Seaman A. Knapp, who realized the dire necessity of educating the great mass of farmers in better methods of combating farm pests and increasing the productivity of their land. A few of these agents were financed in the beginning by the General Education Board, the Board meeting part of the expense and the county part. At first all agents were white, but the special value of having a Negro agent to work among Negro farmers was soon recognized. In 1914 the Federal Government assumed the support of the agents that had hitherto been carried by the General Education Board. The federal appropriations are made to state colleges of agriculture and are disbursed under their supervision. State governments match the amount apportioned by the Federal Government and the county must appropriate its proportion before the agent is available. Thus the funds go only to those counties which take the initiative and can muster a sufficient local backing to support a part of the work.

To quote from the bulletin of the United States Department of Agriculture (*Coöperative Extension, 1924*):

"The extension system, as developed during the past ten years, has been predicated on placing a technically trained and practically minded agricultural agent and home-demonstration agent in each rural county of the United States where there is sufficient farming population to justify the expenditure required, and a boys'- and girls'-club agent and a Negro agent in counties where there is a demand for the services of such agents and where sufficient funds are available. These agents make their homes in the county in which they work and have a centrally located office usually equipped with files, record facilities, telephone, and [other] office equipment. An automobile for field work and needed clerical assistance are frequently provided for by county authorities. The agents systematically visit among the farming people of the various communities in their counties, suggest demonstrations and improvements on the farms and in the homes in the communities visited, and are consulted by farmers and members of their families, in the office or over

the telephone. These county extension agents serve as a connecting link and a clearing-house for information between the state colleges of agriculture, the Federal Department of Agriculture, and the local people."

In 1913 there were forty-nine Negro men agents and seventeen women agents operating at a total cost of $31,598. In 1924 there were 299 Negro agents, 183 in farm demonstration, 108 in home demonstration, and eight in boys'- and girls'-club work. They operated at a cost of $425,268.

The work of these agents in stimulating agricultural production and in educating farmers is valuable in itself, but the workings of the system are also valuable in promoting interracial coöperation. The system of requiring federal and state funds to be matched by the local community is stimulating because public appropriation of tax funds must be preceded by a public demand. It is therefore necessary for public officials to be convinced of the advantages of farm- and home-demonstration work before they will vote for appropriations. The general public must, in turn, be kept informed as to the value of the work so that they will endorse the action of the officials.

The agricultural schools and demonstration agents have increased productivity on American farms to such an extent that the marketing of products has become a central problem. Emphasis is shifting from production to distribution. In this field also some valuable education has been given to the farmer on the job by coöperative associations.

Some of the most practical and straightforward interracial coöperation has occurred in these marketing movements. In marketing associations Negro and white farmers band together with a common purpose, a purpose which is vital to both. The associations are organized to pool the selling of as much of the crop as possible. Each individual farmer, white or black, is urged to join and to sell his crop through the association rather than dumping it on the market unsystematically at harvest time and accepting such prices as buyers are willing to pay under such conditions.

It is obviously to the interest of the association to control

as large a proportion of the crop as possible. So in areas where Negro farmers produce any considerable proportion of the crop of tobacco or cotton, they are urged to join the association. The associations, organized in each small farm community, were in some instances actually mixed, white and colored, in membership for a while, though for social reasons Negroes naturally gravitated to Negro locals. Once a month county meetings were held at which representatives from the white and Negro locals assembled to discuss plans, policies, and relationships, and these meetings were always most cordial. Confronted with a mutual need and aided by confidence in mutual fair dealing, these organizations coöperated with the minimum consciousness of color.

It is estimated by a number of officers in these associations that in living up to their contracts with the organization, which is the most concrete test of loyalty, the Negro farmers were as scrupulous as white farmers and in some areas more so.

VII. INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION

During the World War, when loyal service was highly valued, Negro labor came into great prominence. At a shipyard Edward Burwell, a Negro foreman with a Negro crew, broke the world's record by driving 220 sixty-five-foot piles in nine hours and five minutes, despite bad weather and mechanical difficulties. In the plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation a Negro rivet crew broke another record by driving 4,875 three-quarter-inch rivets in a nine-hour day. Coöperation to develop such loyalty, stamina, and skill is indeed a task which will bear golden fruit in the national life and greatly contribute to raising the level of culture of the Negro.

It has long been known that Negro workmen were adapted to the building trades. The stately old southern mansions with their chaste construction and graceful Corinthian-column porticoes were erected by Negro carpenters and masons. But the full development of the Negro as an

asset to modern industry awaited the opportunities of the World War, when the stoppage of European immigration created a real demand for his services and gave him a chance to prove his industrial ability.

Since that time there has been a tremendous shift of Negroes to industry. In fact, in the past twenty-five years the Negro city population has doubled, increasing from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000. There are now around 1,500,000 Negroes engaged in mines, quarries, and manufacturing and transportation pursuits. This is over one-fourth of the total gainfully employed.

The masses of laborers are so newly employed that it is impossible as yet to gauge their exact status. The large majority are still in unskilled operations. A recent study by the United States Department of Labor indicated twenty-five per cent. in skilled occupations. Industrial education and apprenticeship has prepared many for skilled labor in the building and agricultural trades. There are many colored carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, plumbers, and plasterers. When such laborers move to the metropolitan centers, however, they have difficulty in gaining admission to the unions. The majority of recent migrants have, therefore, gone into the machine industries—steel, automobile factories, railroad shops, etc. For such work practical industrial training has been slight. A considerable number have risen to skilled positions but the mass do common labor around the big plants.

Coöperation in adjusting these newcomers to industry is one of the most important tasks still to be worked out. It presents several rather knotty problems. The opening of new lines of employment, adjustment of Negro wages, and relation of Negroes to labor unions are three of the most pressing needs.

The extension of opportunity to Negro workers in new lines of employment is dependent both upon the acquisition of skill and upon breaking down the barriers of prejudice on the part of fellow workers and employers. For a long time it was a current fiction that Negroes could not work with

machinery, but this has been disproved. There are now thousands of Negro machinists, tool makers, and stationary engineers, and a scattering number of other skilled machine operators. Gradually new uses are being discovered for this great supply of labor; though, of course, this process is much more rapid in periods of industrial expansion than it is when industry is depressed. The prejudice of white labor is the barrier which makes many employers hesitate to open their factories to Negro workers. This is especially true where cloak-rooms, baths, and lunch-rooms increase the personal nature of contacts in the plant. In the work itself contacts are impersonal, but close. In the steel and tobacco industries and in the sawmills of the South, labor is generally mixed and always has been, though Negro and white workers are usually engaged in separate operations. The Negro infusion in the North is, however, without traditional background and the mixing of white and Negro help is still in the experimental stage, although certain plants have opened all departments to Negroes.

Difficulties with adjustment of wages arise chiefly from the tendency of exploiting employers to pay Negroes smaller wages than they pay white laborers for the same type of work. Sometimes the difference is soundly based upon the lesser training and skill of Negro workers. Too often, however, the lower wage scale is retained after the skill has been equalized.

The most frequent source of industrial friction arises from the relation of the Negro to organized labor. Here again the northern and southern States differ. In the South unionism has made little progress outside the building trades. In these the Negro has always constituted so large a proportion of the whole that they are almost always unionized in separate local units. In this area the white laborers are entering trades hitherto almost monopolized by Negroes. On the other hand, in the North, the Negro has been entering trades hitherto almost completely dominated by white people. Here unions have been tardy in admitting Negroes. Recently, however, this reluctance to admit Negroes seems

to be disappearing. It is only fair to say that the American Federation of Labor has always announced a policy of non-discrimination. But, as a central organization, it has no legislative authority and local unions make their own rules as to admission of members and formation of new locals in their territory.

The exclusion of Negroes from unions has been determined upon because of a desire to limit the supply of labor. This has proved to be a short-sighted policy, for when Negroes are potentially able to ply a trade they constitute a reservoir of unorganized labor which employers can use in their contests with the union. This exclusion from the union often forces the Negroes into the position of strike-breakers, for the coming of a strike often gives them the first opportunity to enter a line of work from which they have been excluded by the striking union. In 1904 the strike in the Chicago stock-yards was broken in this way and an investigation made twenty years later revealed traces of lingering bitterness growing out of the incident. The steel strike of 1920 was an example on a large scale of this type of action. Organized labor is, however, beginning to realize fully that all laborers have fundamental human interests regardless of their color.

In fields other than that of competitive struggle between organized labor and employers, advances have been made under the sponsorship of humanitarian employers. Modern tendencies toward more democratic management of plants appear in welfare work, profit sharing, shop councils, and employee participation in management. Welfare work is successfully undertaken in many plants. Houses are built for cheap rental and sale to employees, gardening is fostered, health and sanitation are stimulated, and school and recreational facilities provided. In many plants where large numbers of Negroes are employed, Negro nurses and welfare workers are maintained by the management. It is worthy of note that, in almost every instance, managers who pursue this policy disclaim any credit for altruism. They say that these activities pay because they encourage a healthier and

steadier labor supply. This is concrete evidence of the cash value of altruism.

Where Negro and white workers are mixed industrial democracy is a little more difficult, but there are outstanding instances where it has succeeded. One of the most encouraging of these is the American Cast Iron Pipe Company of Birmingham, which employs about sixty per cent. Negro labor. Several years ago Mr. John Eagan, the owner, decided to endeavor to apply the principles of Christianity to the operation of his business, regardless of result. His first step was to assure himself that a living wage was paid and he constituted a council of employees who were to look into wages and determine for themselves when every man in the plant was receiving a fair sum. Mr. Eagan declined to take any dividends until that time. It required only a few months of wage adjustment, however, before the workers themselves voted the owner a dividend. The authority of the employee council was gradually extended until the management of the plant was vested in a board of governors representing the owner, the managerial staff, and the laborers. This plan operated several years, showing remarkable increases in efficiency and in profits earned. Unfortunately, Mr. Eagan died at that time, but in death he brought his ideals into full fruit by willing his stock to a joint board of the laborers and the management so that these now own the plant. The will also requires that after a living wage has been paid to the laborers, a fair salary to the managers, and a reasonable dividend on the invested capital, prices must be reduced so as to pass any further benefit on to the consuming public. This will is one of the most remarkably daring industrial experiments of the twentieth century. It is difficult to imagine the scope of the peaceful industrial revolution which would be accomplished should many more capitalists dispose of their industrial estates in such a manner.

In brief, the evolution of the Negro in industry has been: first, an effort to train him so that he may develop all the skill of which he is capable, and secondly, to open opportu-

nities for him to use that skill. By doing this the country becomes more productive than it would be if a large group of its laborers were held back by prejudice or tradition. Thirdly, the effort is to realize Christ's principle that the laborer is worthy of his hire. Modern economics is increasingly insistent that the hire of the laborer is best arrived at by the application of the Golden Rule.

VIII. PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

Justice to the Negro in allowing unrestricted ownership of property has been one of the most powerful stimulants to his progress. Negroes can buy where their purse allows. Attempts have been made to segregate Negroes in cities by egal enactment, but the Supreme Court has declared all such ordinances unconstitutional. Such separation as exists is based on social pressure and upon the cohesion of the Negroes themselves.

They now own in the neighborhood of a 1,000,000,000 dollars' worth of home, farm, and business real estate. The 220,000 farm owners own 200,000,000 dollars' worth of land and the 500,000 city home-owners hold a 500,000,000 dollars' worth of city realty. This progress in the acquisition of property is all the more remarkable because the advance was made during a period when the South was recovering from the economic calamity of the Civil War and was lagging behind the other sections of the nation in economic development.

The encouragement of Negroes to own property is fundamental in their struggle to adapt themselves to American culture. It has been noted that farm owners are much more stable and productive than tenants and laborers. Likewise, the owners of city homes indicate more stability and ambition than renters. During a recent survey of Negroes in cities it was found that home owners were greatly superior to renters in the repair and upkeep of property, in provision of an adequate number of rooms for a good standard of living, and in the sanitary equipment of the houses and neighbor-

hoods. The economic condition of the country is materially strengthened by the tendency of property owners to add to values by improving neighborhoods and increasing the productivity of farms. In addition to the economic advantages accruing to the Negro property-owner and the superior standard of living maintained, the community gains by developing a more responsible and stable citizen, a taxpayer with a vested interest in the community.

IX. HEALTH AGENCIES

Negro population increase and vitality have been the subject of much speculative comment. For a time there were people who concluded that the high birth-rate would cause colored people to overrun the country. Others thought that the contact with the diseases of Western civilization would cause them to die out. Neither of these extremes seems likely to happen. During slavery and immediately after emancipation, both birth- and death-rates were very high. There was, however, a substantial excess of births over deaths, resulting in a rapid rate of Negro increase. Recently the rate of increase has declined. Both birth- and death-rates have fallen but the birth-rate has decreased more rapidly.

Aside from the needless suffering caused by preventable sickness and death, there is a measurable economic loss to the country where many people die before making their full contribution to civilization.

The rates of Negro increase in the Negro population of the United States have been as follows: 1870–80, twenty-two per cent.; 1880–90, eighteen per cent.; 1890–1900, fourteen per cent.; 1900–10, eleven per cent.; 1910–20, six per cent. Thus the rate of Negro increase has not only declined to, but has actually fallen somewhat below, the rate of white increase. Birth- and death-rates are also tending more to approximate the white rates for similar areas and economic classes.

In 1920 the Negro death-rate was 18.4 to the thousand as

against a white rate of 12.8. When the causes of Negro death are examined, it is evident that Negroes die principally of diseases which arise from filth, poor living conditions, and exposure, rather than from inferior organic structure or vitality. The ten principal causes of Negro death in 1921, with the rates for the hundred thousand of population, were:

Tuberculosis of the lungs	217
Organic diseases of the heart	153
Pneumonia and influenza	147
Acute Nephritis and Bright's Disease	114
Violence and accident	111
Cerebral Hemorrhage and softening	74
Congenital debility and malformations	97
Diarrhea and enteritis (under 2 yrs.)	57
Cancer and malignant tumors	50
In childbirth	30

From these it is evident that many deaths are preventable. The hope lies in more intensive public health work. This work is largely dependent upon the adaptation of the colored people to their environment both in living conditions and in industry. The educational and preventive method are the means of improvement.

The work done to date is succeeding. This is evidenced by the substantial reductions in the number of deaths from varied causes throughout a wide area. One life insurance company insured over 1,500,000 Negroes and from their experience tables it is evident that between 1911 and 1922 deaths from tuberculosis have decreased forty-two per cent., from pneumonia twenty-six per cent., from typhoid seventy-six per cent., and from malaria, seventy-six per cent. There has also been a marked decline in diarrhea and enteritis among colored children, showing "that colored mothers have not been slow to learn how to care for and feed their babies in accordance with the best practice of the day." This is, indeed, encouraging and indicative of the possibilities in intelligent public health work.

The three principal problems confronting those interested in the health of the Negro are not biological, but social.

They concern not the physical inheritance of the Negro but his community environment and his education. They involve: (1) the provision of adequate health facilities—hospitals, clinics, trained doctors, nurses, and sanitarians; (2) the stimulation of full and intelligent use of these facilities by the colored people; and (3) preventive measures such as improvement of housing and neighborhood sanitation, of conditions of employment, and of recreational facilities.

The *Negro Year Book* of 1926 indicates the following training facilities for Negroes:

Medical schools (all Negro)	2
Accredited nurse-training schools admitting Negroes	54
Hospitals using colored graduate nurses	66
Departments of Health using Negro nurses	59
Hospitals using Negro internes	21

There are about 162 hospitals and nurse-training schools operated for Negroes. With a few exceptions they are conducted by Negroes. In addition to these 162 hospitals operated entirely for Negroes, a number of public institutions have Negro wards.

Thus a beginning has been made toward supplying the facilities needed for carrying on an active campaign for better health. The points which need strengthening are: (1) provision of greater opportunity for interneship and clinical experience of colored doctors; many city hospitals admit only white internes to practise in both white and colored wards: this limits the places where young Negro doctors can get the experience so essential to a proper start in their profession; (2) the persuasion of more county and city departments of health to employ colored nurses: it has been found that the public health nurse needs so much cooperation and confidence from the people with whom she deals that Negro nurses are most valuable in dealing with Negro families. In fact, it may be said that the factor of primary importance in educating the masses of colored people is the Negro trained nurse. Cities are making commendable progress in employing Negro nurses, but there is a

great need for more widespread nursing service in the rural districts.

Hospital and clinical facilities are also largely confined to the major cities. It is often the case that Negroes must travel long distances before reaching a hospital. Of the 165 hospitals operated for Negroes, many are small affairs accommodating only a few patients of the doctor or doctors owning the plant.

Clinics have been found to be especially beneficial in combating tuberculosis, venereal disease, and infant mortality. They are especially effective when clinical treatment is followed up by visits to the home of the patient and instruction in sanitary and preventive hygiene. At least one American city has reduced the Negro infant deaths from diarrhea almost to a vanishing point by dividing the city into districts and assigning to each district a nurse who is personally responsible for each case.

It has been found, however, that no one disease can conveniently be separated from general health conditions. Tuberculosis is often contributed to by other ailments and it often causes other physical and social maladjustments in the life of the patient and his family. While it is valuable to have a personnel which specializes on different diseases, the work is much more valuable when closely linked with an integrated and well-planned general program of public health education.

The problem of stimulating greater use of public health facilities by Negroes is largely one of education. The medical and dental inspections of school children, as practised by many of the more advanced public schools, are of great value. Another educational step is the observance of National Negro Health Week, founded by Booker T. Washington, and fostered by Tuskegee Institute, the United States Surgeon-General, and the Inter-racial Commission. During this week attention is focused on health and the health agencies by every possible means. The press, the pulpit, and the school are used, and a carefully thought-out program is presented to each.

Preventive measures applied to Negro communities involve, for the most part, work in the fields of neighborhood sanitation, garbage removal, and recreation. Municipalities are just beginning to learn the technique of safeguarding the life and health of their citizens by attention to these matters.

It has been found that, because of the lower economic level and greater tendency toward land exploitation in Negro areas, they live far more densely than the white population of cities. Tuberculosis, pneumonia, and, to some extent, infant deaths are associated with the living conditions which arise from overcrowding. This is offset in modern municipalities by zoning laws, which prescribe the light and air spaces that must surround dwellings, and by tenement-house laws, which provide for standards of multiple dwellings with a regular inspection force to insure compliance with the standards.

Home-ownership has already been mentioned as one of the most powerful incentives toward house improvement. Demonstrations of better conditions in rental houses have been made by private philanthropy and industrial plants in model house developments, where good houses are erected and provided with standard sanitary equipment and rented for a reasonable return on the investment. The housing problem is, however, too large to be solved on a philanthropic basis and these merely demonstrate what could be done by more humane landlords.

Recreation is one of the least developed phases of Negro life. Because of the shortage of parks and playgrounds, and especially of athletic facilities for the young, or for adults, city Negroes are largely dependent upon commercial recreational ventures, and rural Negroes do not even have these for amusement. When unregulated and unsupervised, the commercial dance hall, pool room, and moving picture house can become a menace to the community, especially when frequented by the more or less innocent young people who are deprived of more wholesome recreation and, at the same time, by the criminal and semi-criminal who infest these halls.

The improvement in Negro health mentioned in the beginning of this section indicates the benefit which may be expected from consistent public health work along all these lines.

X. GENERAL ORGANIZATIONS

In addition to the organizations with more or less specific function there are a number which devote attention to the general field of race relations. These are largely composed of Negroes, with a few white members. It is not the purpose of this paper to include all the purely Negro organizations. There are a number of these, some of which are performing useful functions in advancing the race. Where the membership is purely Negro, however, the "inter-racial" aspect of the program is negligible.

Three of the most important general organizations which have white participation are the National Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. The last-named is composed entirely of colored women but is included in this list because of their spirit of coöperation and coöperative activity.

The National Urban League, with inter-racial boards and colored staff-workers, was organized to meet the urban problems increasing in importance with the accelerated movement to cities. This organization maintains a number of branches dealing with general city problems. The central organization conducts a research program and edits the magazine *Opportunity*, one of the best of the colored periodicals, and one which gives much encouragement to young artists. The local branches are especially interested in industry and public welfare, almost every one maintaining an employment bureau. The secretaries are also active in seeking out new avenues of employment which may be opened to Negroes. Other activities are more generally related to the health, welfare, and housing programs of the city agencies. In order to strengthen this work the league

has provided scholarships for training promising young colored people to fill social welfare positions.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is one of the oldest active organizations and the one which probably has done most towards arousing the race consciousness of the American Negro and, to some extent, emphasizing the color problems in other countries. It was noted that the attitudes of slavery persisted in some measure after emancipation. The National Association has chosen for its function protest against these attitudes and their resultant injustices. It is, therefore, primarily interested in legal aid, protest against segregation, unequal distribution of public funds, and disfranchisement. This organization has white members of the central board and a few white members of local branches. A colored staff is maintained at headquarters but local branches have no paid workers. Its official organ, *The Crisis*, is edited by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, and is the oldest Negro periodical.

The Association was one of the first to take up the agitation against lynching, and has sponsored, from the beginning, the "Dyer" anti-lynching bill, which proposes to take the trials of mob members from the local courts and put them in the federal courts. It has raised funds for legal aid in a number of strategic cases, notably the defense of Negroes accused of murder in connection with the Arkansas riots, and the successful effort to combat residential segregation in New Orleans and other cities. On account of its policies of agitation and protest it has naturally not made so many white friends as other more coöperative organizations and has gained the reputation of being a radical group. Though it has alienated people by these methods, it has been successful in focusing attention on conditions which needed to be corrected. Its chief contribution has, however, been the part played in the creation of a race consciousness and a group solidarity.

The National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs is composed entirely of colored women but works coöperatively on many of its enterprises. It represents the organized

colored womanhood of America and has a large and active membership. It has many local branches interested in civic as well as cultural activities, and several state federations have taken the initiative in starting training schools for delinquent girls. Their civic activities are especially related to the improvement of the condition of women and children.

XI. THE INTER-RACIAL COMMISSION

Providing local stimulus for all the activities described before, and organizing the friendliness which has, for a long time, existed between individuals, the Commission on Inter-racial Coöperation is one of the most significant general organizations for better race relations.

During the World War, when a common purpose absorbed the interest of the people, much mutual aid developed. In the mobilization, in the sale of liberty loan certificates, and in the campaigns for war welfare funds, Negroes were organized and responded generously. In these movements white and Negro leaders were in sympathy. Coöperation flourished.

To preserve this coöperation as well as to meet the emergency arising from the need for adjusting the relationships of demobilized troops was the objective, in 1919, when the Inter-racial Commission was organized. The organizers found thousands of men of friendly spirit scattered throughout the southern communities. They needed only to be brought together to gain an *esprit de corps* and become a functioning influence for better race relations.

Among the early experiences in the formative stage of the movement, the white people learned from the lips of Negro leaders themselves just how they felt about the racial situation, and Negro leaders learned of a sympathy and friendship which they had but dimly realized before. During this period of getting acquainted it was common to hear members of both groups express pleasurable surprise at the traits discovered in these face-to-face conferences. This was a

very practical demonstration of the essential importance of mutual acquaintance, a preliminary to real coöperation.

Aside from their detailed comments on definite race problems, two striking general aspects of the attitude of thoughtful Negro leaders were manifest in these early conferences. They expressed the need for a forum from which they could freely and frankly discuss their situation, and they revealed a desire for fuller participation in the foundation of the policies of racial adjustment. They felt that too many of the movements launched before had been planned and promoted without sufficient participation by the Negroes themselves.

Following these two leads given by the Negroes, the interracial movement adopted as its two fundamental principles conference and coöperation: conference between Negroes and white people regarding their common interests, and cooperative action for improvement rather than deciding in a meeting of white people what should be done and doing these things for the Negroes. Helping the Negroes to help themselves is the only way out, for if paternalistic effort were relied on to advance the cause of the 10,000,000 colored people, the burden would be too great. This working with rather than working for colored people has been the foundation stone of the success of the movement.

The plan of organization of this movement prescribed: a local committee in each county and town, to attend to community problems; a state committee in each southern State to attend to matters of legislation, state institutions, and problems of more general significance; and a South-wide commission to furnish services to these local and state committees and to make the fundamental plans and policies.

The local committees were composed of the most outstanding people of both races in the community who could be persuaded to give time to the work. Here again the promoters of the movement showed wisdom in dealing with leaders instead of endeavoring to go directly to the masses. In the early stages high-pressure sentiment and mob psychology were avoided. Small conferences with community

leaders, rather than mass meetings, were relied upon. Publicity was confined to statements of accomplishments. It was discovered that a few men in every community, when united in their efforts, could accomplish wonders in shaping the local sentiment and bringing things to pass. To reach these more intelligent leaders was a less difficult task than to endeavor to overcome the inertia and prejudice of the mass by direct appeals.

The chief activities of these local committees have included efforts to secure justice in the courts, to avoid violence, to secure adequate educational facilities for Negroes, to promote public health work through improvement of housing, living conditions, recreational opportunities, and sanitary education, to improve working conditions, and to provide more equal facilities in travel and communication. At first they interpreted their functions mainly in terms of the emergency created by the returning soldiers and were largely defensive organizations. Later the emphasis has shifted to constructive work.

Another strong point in the movement has been that local communities have not been required to adopt this program as a whole. It has not been handed to them from above. It has been recognized that local situations and local sentiment vary from place to place and for that reason local leaders justly demand much latitude in working out their own problems. What the inter-racial movement has brought to these local leaders is, first, an organization wherein they may pool their efforts and become acquainted with one another, second, a method of conference and cooperation whereby they can get results, third, such outside services by the state and general commissions as they may feel necessary to accomplish their ends.

These local committees have not been encouraged to set themselves up as organizations for the direct accomplishment of constructive work in the community, but rather to accomplish their ends through aiding the established agencies to function for colored people as well as for white. Throughout this paper different agencies which have been

developed to meet special needs have been described. The educational funds, the farms and home-demonstration agents, the organizations for public health, all these have a specialized function in the community. It has not been the object of the inter-racial committees to take over these specialized functions, but rather to aid each of these organizations to extend its work to colored people. These agencies often function better when a stronger public sentiment is created for them, when additional funds are raised, or when the interest of the colored people themselves is enlisted. To provide this reinforcement is the task of the Inter-racial Committee. It accomplishes its results through the constituted agencies rather than by direct action.

These, then, have been the strong points of the movement: (1) that it is based on conference and coöperation, rather than on agitation and conflict; (2) that it reaches the masses through the strategic leaders rather than directly; (3) that a method rather than a hard and fast program is provided for local communities, a method which is flexible to meet local needs; (4) that concrete results are accomplished through existing organizations wherever possible rather than by the independent effort of the Committee.

To catalog all the accomplishments of these local committees in their seven years of existence would be a monumental task. In the first place, since they work through other organizations wherever possible, it is often difficult to say what credit is to be given to a committee for the result. Again, not all these committees report regularly to the central organization. In fact, no effort has been made to burden them with a reporting system; therefore many things which are done are not known outside the local community. The files of the Commission, however, present a sufficiently imposing array of reports of accomplishment to be impressive. To those desiring more detailed knowledge of this work a careful reading of the annual reports of the commission is recommended.

The work of the state committees is more general than that of local groups, but has a necessary place in the organi-

zation in the United States. The various States support and administer colleges, public school funds, penal institutions, and public health departments; they regulate public service corporations and legal administration. The state inter-racial groups have been useful in vitalizing these functions of the State in their relation to the colored population.

The state committees are also useful in promulgating State-wide movements for the stimulation of local committees. Of this nature is the work done each year on the observance of National Negro Health Week, a week set aside for intensive work and education in sanitation. The state committees block out plans and programs and supply them to local committees.

In the early stages of the organization it was hoped that a field secretary could be maintained in each State and that he could give full time to carrying out the plans of the state committee and traveling among the local committees, giving them as much aid as possible. The financial limitations of the organization have, however, precluded the employment of such extensive personnel. At present there is an approximate average of one secretary to two States. These cover the ground as best they may by correspondence and by as much personal contact as possible.

The personal contact is highly important because one of the weaknesses of any movement which depends upon the volunteer services of committee members arises from the difficulty in getting volunteer workers to take time from their every-day affairs for pure service. To stimulate these people to attend meetings and to relieve them of as much of the routine as possible, a full-time paid secretary is essential.

Planning and re-inforcing the work of these state and local committees is one of the functions of the general Inter-racial Commission, which meets annually and maintains a headquarters staff. Other functions of a more general nature are also performed by headquarters. These are research, work among students, work with the churches, work with the press. All these activities are aimed primarily at affecting public opinion and changing racial attitudes so as to create a

favorable atmosphere for the work of the state and local committees.

Early in the life of the movement the demand for facts became insistent. In order to help supply this demand, the commission has maintained a research secretary at headquarters. General studies have been made independently and in coöperation with other agencies, and local communities have been assisted in making studies of their peculiar problems. Investigations have included such topics as: extent and distribution of lynching; effects of anti-lynching laws; systems of appropriating funds for public education; local studies of the welfare agencies of cities. In coöperation with the Institute of Social and Religious Research, an extensive study of the urban problems of housing, schools, and recreation has just been completed in seventeen cities where the effects of the rapid migration of Negroes could be observed. An investigation into the effects on rural communities from which these migrants came is now projected. A text has been prepared for use in college courses in which the results of past studies have been summarized.

With a view to affecting the future as well as the present, the Commission has devoted especial attention to the presentation of the intellectual approach to racial problems by college professors and students. In this it is the successor to the Southern University Race Commission, sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund in 1912, and it is a coöperator with the Student Division of the Young Men's Christian Association. The early volunteer classes inaugurated by W. D. Weatherford have been mentioned. The Inter-racial Commission has continued to encourage these classes and endeavored to promote regular accredited courses in race relations wherein the facts will be taught in connection with the student's work in history, economics, or sociology. Some sixty colleges have such courses of more or less formal nature, and material is supplied to the teachers.

Other forms of student activity promoted are debates and forums. Inter-racial forums are encouraged in those cities which contain both white and Negro colleges located suf-

ficiently close to enable the students to meet jointly. The Commission has for two years offered prizes for the best essay on race relations by college students. These essays have stimulated a widespread competition and interest.

The work of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches has been mentioned. This work was stimulated by the activity of the Inter-racial Commission in cultivating church work and the desire to have as much of this work as possible under the direct administration of religious organizations. The Inter-racial Commission has coöperated with denominational boards in the development of their educational and home mission policy and has cultivated the home mission field by encouraging study groups in home mission societies and supplying material for these groups. The annual conferences and board meetings of various denominations have been supplied with speakers on inter-racial subjects.

As an opinion-making body, the Commission has been especially attentive to the power of the press as an agent in fixing racial attitudes. At the beginning of the work it was found that newspapers contributed to race friction by making sensational display of crimes committed by Negroes and emphasizing the fact that a Negro had done the deed. Also some of the references to individuals were galling because of the derogatory phraseology used. Editors were approached on this subject and in many instances have changed the policy of their papers in these matters. On the other hand, the Negro press was found to be fully as sensational in playing up grievances and slights imposed by white people. Negro editors were, therefore, similarly approached with satisfactory results.

On the constructive side, it was found that events which would inspire respect and confidence were seldom given prominence in news columns. This was partially because of policy and partially because the regular news-gathering services did not supply the material on these events in time to constitute news. To remedy this situation the Commission has built up a most successful press service. News of

Negro heroism or outstanding success or news of general interest about Negroes is put in journalistic style and supplied to a large number of papers. About 2,000 papers are on the mailing list of the Inter-racial Commission. This includes some 400 Negro papers and a large number of religious periodicals and a few college papers. Clippings from these papers show a wide and continued use of the Commission's press service. The Associated Press has also shown a willingness to coöperate in this program and has given wide distribution to some of the releases of the Commission. The value, in moulding public opinion, of such widely spread news service is readily discernible both in the attitude of editors and in the interest of the reading public in matters pertaining to race relations.

The support of the Inter-racial Commission has been derived from varied sources. In its initial stages the support was largely derived from the funds of the War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, supplemented by the personal donations of John J. Eagan, and appropriations from the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Later the work received additional support through appeals to philanthropic boards and to the general public. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation, the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, a number of the mission boards, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund have been among the regular contributors. It is also significant that many of the financial welfare federations of southern cities contribute liberally to the movement.

The Inter-racial Commission never loses sight of the fact that it is primarily an opinion-making body. Concrete accomplishments for the good of the community result from the activities of the state and county committees but the by-product in goodwill has been found to be fully as important as the direct effect on local situations. It has been the experience of the workers that goodwill is almost always generated by coöperative good work and that this is really a surer way to cultivate goodwill than by propaganda. It is difficult to work with a man for the common good and to feel

the joy of mutual accomplishment, without developing a respect for him. Thus, by working together, members of inter-racial committees not only accomplish results leading to community progress, but they also develop a goodwill which is powerful in changing the racial attitudes in the mass.

CHAPTER III

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE BLACK AND WHITE RACES IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Reverend J. Dexter Taylor, D. D.

I. THE RACE PROBLEM IN ITS EARLIEST PHASES

THE beginning of civilization in South Africa was the establishment by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 of what was intended to be not a colony but a resting and refitting station on the trade route to India. This involved no interference with the lands or with the habits of the aborigines. Van Riebeek, the first governor, had, indeed, considered the policy of enslaving the Hottentots, but when this was forbidden by the Company he forbade all intercourse between them and the settlers. Even barter was to be through the authorized agents of the Company only. Instead of enslavement of the Hottentots slaves were introduced from Batavia and Madagascar. The Hottentots enjoyed the status of a free people, maintaining their tribal life on the outskirts of a small European settlement, protected from aggression, and in some cases even from the just punishment of their own misdeeds, by an authority 6,000 miles away.

Political motives coöperated with humanitarian feeling to produce this situation. As long as the settlement was a trading station only, it was essential that friendly relations be maintained with the Hottentots, upon whom both the settlements and the ships depended for fresh meat and who furnished the market for barter goods. Moreover, it was the desire of the authorities to restrain colonization. There was no desire to assume control over a large area of country in which conflicts with the native population must inevitably involve the colonizing power in heavy responsibilities and expense. The conversion of the natives to Christianity,

moreover, was always a recognized duty of these early overseas enterprises.

But economic forces gradually prevailed to break down the restrictive policy of the Company. The colonizing spirit gradually caused pioneer farmers to push out into distant parts. The process of acquiring land from a primitive people by trickery and by superior force or sometimes by merely occupying lands temporarily abandoned, which could be regarded as without legitimate claimant, soon brought settlers and natives into closest contact and began to produce a crop of problems. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the earliest segregation policy had broken down. A considerable proportion of the Hottentot population had become landless serfs on European farms. The conditions easily lent themselves to the growth of serious abuses. Legal machinery was still inadequate for the administration of a large new area. Distances were too great to admit of the exercise of careful supervision. The interests of the authorities were identical with those of the farmers. The low social status and undeveloped moral sense of the Hottentots tended to produce a growing sense of their essential inferiority. Wages were too low to permit of a decent standard of living. Payment was usually in kind, and it was easy to declare that the native was in debt at the end of his agreed term of service and to demand further personal service for the discharge of the debt, holding the man's wife or his cattle as hostage.

Efforts had already been made before the British occupation in 1795 to correct these abuses by requirement that all contracts of service be registered and that debts should be collected only by legal process and not by individual compulsion. To curb the native's tendency to instability, registration of his huts was required, a pass system was introduced to control his movements, and an apprenticeship law enacted to insure that the young men did not become vagrants. But such protective legislation as had been introduced tends to show what were the evils of the time rather than to indicate the degree of progress that had been made

in securing a right adjustment of the increasingly conflicting interests of the natives and the Europeans. "In a country like South Africa, where the difference between the standards of life of the white and native races is so great and where the tradition of native inferiority is so long and continuous, there is always a tendency to administer a more summary justice to the native than to the European." If this is still so after nearly two centuries and a half of experience and progress, it must have been especially true in that early period before closer settlement and efficient administration had made possible official supervision of economic relationships between white and black.

The growth of a native policy was mainly a matter of defining the status of the native after the process of his absorption into the social organism in an inferior capacity had gone on for a considerable period. It was not, and in the nature of things could not be, based upon a disinterested study of the possibility of the transformation of the native into a civilized man, upon the decision as to how the native should be related to the body politic of the new settlement while that transformation should be in progress, or upon the provision in the matter of land tenure and of law of the proper background for that process. It is not even to be expected that the early stages of a native policy would be consciously based upon so high an ideal as that laid down by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, that the interests of the native populations should be considered paramount. Even so true a friend of the natives as Jan Hofmeyer, as late as 1883, laid it down that "native policy should be guided by the consideration that the interests of the colonists came first, in so far as was consonant with justice to the native races." In the early stages of native policy, therefore, two main motives emerged: to put some restraint upon the colonists against their taking unfair advantage of the natives, and, secondly, to put such restraint upon the movements of the natives as should prevent them from becoming vagrants. Under the circumstances, the practical desire of the farmer for a stable supply of cheap

labor under complete control was certain to prevail over the effort to embody humanitarian sentiment in concrete principles of native policy.

It was fortunate indeed for South Africa that this early stage of the development of native policy synchronized with the great humanitarian revival in Europe which gave the mighty impulse to missionary effort and which resulted in 1807 in the abolition of slavery in South Africa. Without committing ourselves to the definite steps of policy which the humanitarian school advocated, and with regret that the leaders of the movement were not always free from bitterness and unfairness towards those who opposed them, we may yet be thankful that, in a situation where the destiny of a race was involved in the immediate economic interests of a more powerful race, a mighty spiritual force entered at the right moment. The development of a native policy has been the resultant of the pull of these two opposing forces. Let it not be supposed that supporters of the two opposing theories have always stood in opposition on clear-cut moral issues. Those who approach the problem from the point of view of European interests first are by no means lacking in moral principle, and are often led to coöperation with those of the humanitarian school in the passing of legislation favorable to the natives, especially as it becomes increasingly evident that the true interests of the Europeans are one with a wise humanitarianism toward the natives. On the other hand, the humanitarian school is not always ready to live up to the full implications of a doctrinaire interpretation of its views, as for instance when Hofmeyer challenged that party in the old Cape parliament to sweep away all class legislation regarding the natives, including pass laws and even liquor restrictions, or else to agree to a restricted franchise.

Two other pairs of opposing theories, more or less parallel to these, have figured in the history of native policy. There has always been a strong minority leaning toward imperial interference in the handling of native affairs, while the great majority of the colonists resented such intervention and

maintained that the problem must be solved by the public opinion of South Africa. So far as the Union of South Africa is concerned, the latter policy has now prevailed, as was inevitable and right, but the unrestricted control of the natives has always been the last right to be gained from the home government, in the gradual growth of complete representative institutions, and the fact that such native territories as Basutoland and Swaziland still remain under imperial administration is a testimony to the strength of the other position. In spite of the controversy that it has caused, this necessity to conform to the dictates of public opinion in the older community overseas has been a powerful influence in the development of a true conscience in South Africa.

The other pair of theories has reference to the capacity of the native himself. There has always been the school which regards the native as a little less than human, incapable of assimilating white civilization, and the other school perhaps over-optimistic as to the time required to civilize him, and sometimes over-hasty to thrust upon him large responsibilities, but clear in the conviction that the native is not essentially inferior to the white man and that his ultimate destiny is that he become civilized to the full measure of European civilization.

The focal point of opposing theory in the early years of the British occupation was Dr. Philip, Superintendent of the London Missionary Society in South Africa. Because of the controversy that he aroused his influence was far greater in England than in South Africa. He was able so to influence the British Government that his policies prevailed in spite of the bitter opposition of the majority of the settlers. The main outcome of his efforts was the Fiftieth Ordinance, which repealed the Hottentot Code, in which the pass law and the apprenticeship of native youth were incorporated, thus destroying the basis of native inferiority before the law and laying the foundation for what has come to be known as the Cape Policy as distinguished from that of the other three provinces. That policy was later defined

by Cecil Rhodes in the famous phrase, "equal rights for all civilized men." Like the emancipation of the slaves in America, the ordinance had its attendant evils, but it challenged the policy which tends continually to re-assert itself, that of subordinating the human rights of the natives to the immediate economic benefit of the European.

Dr. Philip, in spite of all the charges laid against him, some of them just, of exaggeration of statement, of uncharitableness toward those who differed with him, of undue influence exercised through an outside authority, and of impractical idealism, saw clearly certain profound principles which ought to determine native policy. He proposed a policy of territorial separation between white and black which would conserve the social and political system natural to the natives until they could have time to adapt themselves to the white man's ways. This principle, to-day the central feature of the native policy of the government, was then practicable but is to-day demonstrated to be impracticable in any but a very restricted application. Nevertheless, wherever that policy has been applied, as by Shepstone in Natal and by the Glen Grey Act in the Ciskei and Transkei, it has been the means of affording protection to native interests and advancing native development. Dr. Philip further anticipated the economic theory now being so ably advocated by Professor Macmillan, when he pointed out that "the abettors of the present system seem never to have thought of giving up present advantage for future gain, or to have contemplated the aborigines of the Colony as consumers, or in any other light than as laborers and as furnishing a present accommodation for their masters." The obvious alternative to Color Bar Acts to prevent native competition in industry is the education and civilization of the native that he may furnish a market for South Africa's industrial production.

But the great contribution of Dr. Philip and those whom he represents is the spiritual conviction that the native, like the white man, is a son of God, that there is power in Christ to lift him to an equal realization of his destiny, and that the

white race can retain its efficiency only as it coöperates with the native in the attainment of that destiny.

The main effects of Christianity in this early period may be summarized as follows:

1. The strong religious traditions of the original settlers led to some provision for the spiritual instruction of their slaves and servants. Conversion and baptism at first automatically led to manumission. Christian slaves and Christian Hottentots were received into the common Church with Europeans. Even marriage of white settlers with Hottentot Christians was at first recognized both legally and socially, but this extreme of Christian sentiment reacted unfavorably against the Christianizing of the natives in the next century. The best Christian homes have from the beginning been an important force in the bettering of race relationships through the friendly relations prevailing between servants and masters.

2. Christianity created in the minds of the natives a spirit of hope which enabled some of them to win their way slowly upward in spite of unfavorable status, political and economic, and which was thus the beginning of a rising tide of intelligence and spiritual force which is to-day pressing against the barriers of political and economic restraint.

3. Successful protest has been made against certain vicious elements of legal enactment and a counter-current has been created which has never lacked its warm supporters amongst both the Dutch and the English population.

It should be noted here that the Hottentots have long since disappeared as a distinct race, being merged in the Dutch-speaking mixed-bloods who number 550,000. "Natives" from this point on means the Bantu peoples.

II. THE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACE PROBLEM

Race Equality

We may pass briefly by the most fundamental element of all, the question whether the native is essentially inferior

to the white and incapable of assimilating European civilization, since this query is not limited to South Africa. The underlying assumption of essential inferiority is not without its malign influence on native policy but that influence is waning.

The existence of a considerable number of individual natives who in spite of all handicaps have attained to a completely civilized life, including not only university training but a mastery of such professions as medicine, the law, and journalism and an appreciation for and ability in instrumental music and literature, makes it impossible for any one without bigotry to hold to that theory.

South African writers on the native question recognize the fundamental unity of the native with all humanity. "I can find nothing whatever throughout the whole gamut of the native's conscious life and soul to differentiate him from other human beings in other parts of the world. . . . The reason for the fact that the African natives have never thought as hard and as long as the ancient and modern peoples of other land lies not, I think, in the lack of inherent capacity, but in the lack of opportunity."[1]

The whole system of education now receiving government support and direction on a large scale assumes that the government has freed itself of any theory of essential inferiority and regards the native simply as underdeveloped.

Recent and pending legislation, as well as the history of native legislation, shows that there must be continual change in the laws governing native administration to provide for the fact that the native is steadily progressing toward European standards of life. The real problem of the legislators lies in the fact that behind the vanguard of progress lies a whole range of classes from the university graduate back to the barbarian, and the problem is to provide in the same Acts for such widely separated classes.

The Land Question

We have seen that Christianity, in spite of all that it accomplished in the early years of South Africa's history, was

[1] Peter Nilsen in *The Place of the Black Man in South Africa.*

powerless to check the movement by which the land available for native occupation has constantly shrunk until today the natives have available for occupation not more than one-fifth of what they had when the white man first began his South African settlements, although they are probably twice as numerous as they were at that time. Although the problem of race relationships is ultimately a spiritual one—the mutual recognition of each other's rights, the intelligent appreciation of each other's viewpoints, and a reasonable amount of sacrifice in each other's interests—yet the immediate concrete point of difficulty in that relationship is the land.

It was to be neither expected nor desired that such vast areas should be reserved for native occupation as would permit of the natives' maintaining a semi-pastoral existence, with wasteful agricultural methods. Such a policy would not have been in the interests of either race. But because European interests alone have frequently dominated native land policy a serious situation has arisen, which is engaging the attention of all students of the South African problem. As will be shown, Christian forces are coöperating vigorously with scientific economists and with the government in seeking for a workable compromise between the conflicting interests.

The present situation is as follows: Of the total rural population of 4,520,000 about 2,527,000, or fifty-five per cent., live on lands definitely set apart for native occupation and 375,000, or another eight per cent., live on land which it is now proposed to set apart as available for settlement by natives, but not exclusively reserved for them. This leaves 1,618,000, roughly thirty-five per cent., resident on lands not controlled by or for natives, and hence, for the most part, squatters, tenants, or farm laborers on European farms.

The effort to restrict squatting and to prevent the evils of absentee landlordism and of Europeans' reaping their profits in the form of rents instead of from productive agriculture led to the passing in 1913 of the Land Act which (1) scheduled all areas already legally restricted to

native occupation; (2) prohibited all sales, leases, or contracts as between Europeans and natives in non-scheduled areas, except that contracts already existing could continue; (3) provided for the appointment of a commission which should propose to Parliament such additional areas to be delimited as should in their opinion provide for the needs of the native population.

The Beaumont Commission (1913–16), so appointed, recommended the creation of additional native areas to a total of 8,366,189 *morgen*[1] as follows:

Cape	1,313,500
Natal	1,861,680
Transvaal	5,042,693
Orange Free State	148,316
	8,366,189

When it became evident that public opinion would not support the carrying out of these proposals, provincial committees were set up (1917–18), which amended the proposals of the original Union Commission as follows:

Cape	1,500,000
Natal	434,000
Transvaal	5,008,000
Orange Free State	79,000
	7,021,000

At the same time they indicated that while the Beaumont Commission had had in mind a settlement to provide for approximately fifty years, the local committees had attempted to provide for the probable increase of population for only ten years. These Committees further proposed the establishment of certain neutral areas where natives should be allowed to acquire land on equal terms with Europeans. These neutral areas total for the Union 375,000 *morgen*.

The Stubbs Commission for the Transvaal indicated 4.3 *morgen* to the unit of population as the minimum which

[1] One *morgen* is the equivalent of about two acres.

could provide for an agricultural living. This should be compared with the figures showing the actual occupation by natives as compared with Europeans for the Union as a whole:

Morgen TO THE UNIT OF POPULATION, 1926

	White	*Native*
Cape	108.1	4.3
Natal	47.2	2.6
Transvaal	45.0	3.7
Orange Free State	73.6	.3

Neither the Beaumont Commission's recommendations nor those of the local Committees have been given effect to, and now an amendment to the 1913 Land Act proposes to limit the additional land to be made available to the neutral areas only, and that in competition with white buyers, and secondly, institutes a system of license fees for labor tenants rising from 2/6 to £2 each, according to the number on a farm, and for squatters £3 on a farm in personal occupation by a European owner and £5 on a farm not so occupied. Obviously the effects will be (1) an increase in the pressure upon present native areas already overcrowded; (2) a lowering of the economic status of those natives who are compelled by circumstances to remain on European farms; (3) an additional pressure upon industrial employment in towns where the unemployment problem is already serious and intensification of the competition between natives and poor whites who have been thrust off the farms by a process of economic forces similar to that which has caused the townward movement of the natives, though without the injurious legislation.

Now the moral of all this is that the native problem has reached a point where the principles of Christian humanitarianism do not suffice to afford a solution. We need not be over-concerned if the solution of the problem seems to be passing out of the hands of the church. In fact the greatest hope lies in the fact that the problem is coming to be recognized to be not a native problem at all, but an economic

problem of South Africa as a whole. The natives' interests are inextricably bound up with the interests of the Europeans. The Economic and Wage Commission of 1925 so far recognized this fact as to urge that a special study be made immediately of native economic conditions, as a special aspect of its problem not included in its terms of reference. There is great hope also in the fact that leading South African economists are devoting themselves to the native side of the economic problem. It is not to be expected that missionary leaders will in any large number be experts in economics, but they have the task on the one hand of coöperating with the experts in the working out of policies, and on the other of keeping always before the natives the truth that economic betterment without inner spiritual regeneration cannot save their race.

III. RACIAL DIFFICULTIES IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE NATIVE POINT OF VIEW

We have tried to trace the history of the development of South Africa's race problem. We shall try now more briefly to set forth the serious difficulties of the situation, putting ourselves, in so far as we may, in the position of the native and trying to sense the problem from his point of view.

The very expression "from his point of view" suggests one of the difficulties. Who shall set forth the native viewpoint? The educated native is the only one who has thought definitely about the matter or who knows how to make his thoughts articulate. The uncivilized native in the kraal feels the pinch of poverty, knows vaguely that the forces of progress are against him, feels his land and his tribal life slipping from him, and feels a vague resentment against the white man who is held responsible for all his ills, but he has no theories for a solution except a return to "the good old days." Often he is as suspicious of the educated native, with his new-fangled notions such as individual land-tenure, as he is of new laws proposed by the white Parliament. The white man is quick to maintain that the native political or in-

dustrial organization and the educated leader does not represent the mass of the natives. He has more faith in the old type of native than in the newly educated, awakened native whom he regards as truculent.

The problems of inter-racial adjustment, as will be seen from what has gone before, fall naturally under the following heads:

The Economic Difficulties

The material side of the country's civilization has been built up largely on the basis of the natives' performing all the heavy unskilled labor at a bare-subsistence wage. Native labor has built the roads and the railroads, has dug the mines, has cultivated the farms. It unloads the ships and the trains, runs the errands, takes care of domestic service, digs the sewers, and carries or drags up the steel and the bricks and the mortar for the lofty structures of the cities. Not a department of life but has been almost solely dependent for its unskilled labor upon the native. In the eyes of the educated native, the policy, especially with reference to taxation, seems often to have been closely akin to forced labor.

It has been well said by Mrs. Millin in *The South Africans* that the most unchangeable thing in South Africa is native wages. The cost of living in the country has gone up since 1914 about ninety per cent., while native wages have risen only about five per cent. Instead of a minimum wage law such as is advocated in the interests of European labor, the farmers of the country are agitating for a maximum wage agreement amongst themselves as a means of countering the activities of the I. C. U. (Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union), so that there shall be no competition amongst employers to raise native wages. The labor party agitates for a minimum wage law to protect workers from exploitation by capital employing labor at the lowest figure that the most needy laborer will accept (and they have the Wage Board with them), while farmers are meeting the agitation of the I. C. U. by an effort to maintain solidarity on the basis

of a low wage, making sure that nobody shall offer higher wages and so make a breach in the dike and let in the flood of demand for better economic conditions for farm labor.

Increasing native poverty is undoubtedly the most serious cause of native unrest and of bitterness toward the governing races. Professor Jabavu in "Native Unrest—Its Cause and Cure"[1] quotes a city native as asking "how he could be expected to be honest on a pound a week, when his food, rent, and light alone cost him far more than that a week." Professor Jabavu goes on, "The fact is that in most cases to-day the wages earned by a black man cannot buy his food and the barest needs of life. It should be remembered, too, that the laborers on the Rand and elsewhere are there to raise money not only for their own personal needs but for the support of their people at home. Fireside discussions of these things are more rife than they have ever been before."

Low wages and consequent poverty are cited by the "Sub-Committee on Native Crime" of the Joint Council of Johannesburg as one of the important causes of crime in the city. In domestic service only does the native get more than the barest-subsistence wage and then only because he gets his quarters and food in addition to the money wage. The Joint Council's investigation showed that a minimum budget for a native family of five in Johannesburg, living in a Municipal Location, paying rent and tram-fares, with the most meager allowance for meat and vegetables, was over £6 a month, while the average native wage was from £3 to £5.

Poverty is due not only to low wages but even more to the congestion of the native areas. Enough has been said of the land conditions in the earlier part of this paper to indicate the seriousness of that congestion. It is no longer possible for the natives to get more than fifty per cent. of the cost of living from the land. At all times large numbers of the male population of the native areas are away at the labor centers seeking to make up this deficit. The result of this land

[1] See: Jabavu, D. D. T., *The Black Problem*, Lovedale, C. P.; 1920, pp. 1–17.

poverty is the forcing of natives more and more into the urban centers, there to become permanent town dwellers. It is a serious problem for the municipal authorities to provide decent housing for the increasing native population. Consequently slum conditions arise and the slum breeds crime and also breeds racial bitterness. Over-population of unskilled native laborers tends to bring down wages, increases unemployment, and leads to legislation restricting the inflow of natives, thus curbing their freedom of movement and throwing them back on the crowded native areas, completing the vicious circle.

The movement to the cities is not confined to the natives. The poor whites or "Bywoners" are driven by similar conditions off the land and find their way to the cities, and the native begins to find himself even in the sphere of unskilled labor in competition with the whites.

The poor white demands protection from the competition which he knows he cannot meet on equal terms and repressive legislation is introduced: the Color Bar Act, under which any field of industry may be declared a white preserve; the Transvaal Motor Ordinance just passed, which makes it illegal for any native to drive a motor vehicle in which a European is riding; the "Civilized Labor" policy (which does not discriminate in favor of the civilized but against the black, however civilized he may be): under it various unskilled fields are being closed to natives and natives who have rendered faithful and efficient service are turned out to make room for whites. Railways, which formerly employed natives as luggage porters, now employ only whites; the same is true of waiters in dining-cars. The Postal Service, except for its most menial tasks, is displacing natives with whites. Private employers, stimulated by the government and by the Juvenile Employment Bureau (white), are in many instances following the lead. Everywhere the native hears the slogan, "Make South Africa a white man's country."

Even native-affairs departments supported by native taxation are pressed to make places for white employers. Buildings erected by public authorities with money paid by

natives for municipally-brewed kaffir beer, as in Durban, or for houses for which the natives must pay rent, as in Johannesburg, must be built with white labor, thus compelling a rent beyond the natives' capacity. There is a notable exception to this policy in Bloemfontein, where natives are allowed to erect their own houses, and there is a native civil service. But elsewhere the compensations forecast in the way of a native civil service and native industrial development in their own areas are shadowy and remote. Past policy has tended to discourage native development, considering it inimical to European interests, and has sought to use the natives as a cheap labor supply. The sudden reversal of that labor policy, without providing the land which impartial commissions considered necessary for the policy of independent native development, does not look promising for the native.

The native problem is essentially to-day an economic problem. Thirty years ago the cry was, "Get the native out to work from the native areas." To-day the cry is, "Get the native back on the land." But the land is not available. The Land Act of 1913 has intensified the problem. The only thing that could save the situation would be a liberal provision of more land [1] plus the privilege of leasing on a money basis from European landlords. But pending legislation may bring about, instead, upon native farm tenants a greater stringency, which threatens absolute serfdom.

The Social Difficulties

The most serious of all the social aspects of the situation is the separation of such a vast number of men from their families for the greater part of the year. Only a very small proportion of the thousands of male laborers employed in the urban and industrial areas can have their families with them. Nowhere in the world has such a dangerous social experiment been tried on so vast a scale. No race has ever been subjected to such a social strain as that to which the Bantu is subjected. What will be the effect upon the future

[1] See: Commission's proposals on page 88.

of the Bantu people and hence upon the country and upon racial relationships no one can completely foresee. The situation is capable only of amelioration, not of cure. Both industrial development and native economic need demand the labor and it is physically impossible and socially undesirable to have all the families located at the centers of labor.

The social contacts of the native with whites and white institutions are to a large extent such as to engender bitterness. Everywhere there is segregation of the black. At post office, bank, railway station, and all public buildings he must seek separate counters and often finds poorer and more ungracious service. On the railways he is subjected to "nagging by petty officials" from the time he buys his ticket till he reaches his destination. His accommodation is poor and the rate charged is high in proportion to that in the second and first class, although the travel is heavier. Even civilized and highly educated natives are frequently subjected to indignities and injustice, as, for instance, being refused accommodation in second or first class which has been reserved in advance in accordance with the regulations. In Johannesburg natives are allowed on no trams except certain special ones running from town to the municipal native townships. Consequently they must walk long distances or pay high prices for cab hire.

Durban has found that it was losing useful revenue to the Indian bus-owners and, in addition to its former restricted provision for natives on the upper decks of trams, is now providing a limited special tram service. A certain amount of social separation is essential where the blacks, at a low stage of civilization as a whole, outnumber the whites four to one, but the white superiority complex makes such separation unnecessarily irritating. Exclusion of natives from residence in urban areas except in special townships or locations, while it makes hardship in individual cases and causes bitterness, results on the whole in more wholesome housing conditions.[1]

[1] See: Jabavu, D. D. T., "Native Unrest: Its Cause and Cure" (in his *The Black Problem*, Lovedale, C. P., 1920, pp. 1–17).

Religious Difficulties

The Church has been the one source of hope for the native. Its hand has been almost the only friendly hand held out to him. The missionary school has been and is his one hope of advancement. In many cases the mission lands have been his rescue from destitution. It has been a common native saying that there are two classes of Europeans, white men and missionaries. With the loss of faith in the white race has come loss of faith in the religion the white man has brought. The missionary is sharing in the suspicion with which the white race is regarded. He must be scrupulous indeed in his freedom from all signs of race prejudice. He must boldly declare himself in defense of native interests, economic and political as well as religious, if he is going to escape the accusation of self-interest and racial bias.

Exclusion of native delegates from public functions in connection with the synods of churches having common synods for white and black begets bitterness.

Separatist movements, sometimes due to actual mistakes and tactlessness on the part of missionaries, oftener due to the pique of a disciplined leader or the dislike of strict disciplinary standards, always appeal to racial feeling and encourage racial bitterness. There are at present more than 130 of such separatist churches and they tend constantly to split into still smaller sectarian divisions. A policy of tolerance on the part of the government, forbearance on the part of the missionary churches, increased educational opportunities, and a more liberal policy on the part of the churches such as that indicated by the Bantu conferences of the Dutch Reformed Churches (see page 107) are the obvious remedies for this condition.

Educational Difficulties

The chief educational difficulty is the impossibility of providing adequate accommodation even for the children of school age whose parents desire education for them; in

spite of the coöperation of missionary societies, which are contributing a considerable sum toward the support of native education which ought legitimately to fall upon the government, existing accommodation is inadequate. Less than fifty per cent. of the native population of school age is in school.

The native feels that he is not given educational facilities in proportion to the taxes he pays. In the Cape Province before union practically the whole revenue from direct native taxation was devoted to native education. In the other provinces only a small percentage of native taxes went for native education. Under the recent Union taxation law only twenty per cent. of the entire revenue from direct taxation is to be for native development, including education, while the natives contribute heavily in indirect taxation as well.

Another educational difficulty is the provision of an education adapted to the native's life, that is, related to his environment. The native feels that the European type of education has made the white race what it is and claims the same education for his race. He feels that any special native curriculum is based on a purpose to deprive him of educational privileges. It is undoubtedly true that a large proportion of the Europeans who demand exclusively industrial training for the natives as against academic training are for discrimination. Their attitude renders all the more difficult the efforts of the disinterested educationalist to direct native education into lines vitally related to native life.

Political Difficulties

The difficulty of assimilating the natives into the political fabric of the country lies (1) in the communistic character of native political institutions as against the individualistic character of European institutions; (2) in the wide range of opinion amongst Europeans from the Negrophilist to the Negrophobist, from the policy of repression to that of equality, with repressionist sentiment vastly predominating; (3) in the wide variations of the degrees of civilization of the

natives themselves, at one extreme the university graduate, at the other the great uncivilized mass; (4) in the party system, which tends to make native policy a football of politics instead of a scientific study to which the best thought and feeling of all parties should be given; (5) in the complexity of the land situation, since the interlacing of native areas with European-owned lands and the fact that thirty-five per cent. of the population live on European-owned lands make any policy of gradual natural development of Bantu political institutions into something assimilable to European institutions extremely difficult; and (6) in the fact that the political policies of the four provinces have not been uniform, that of the Cape having been, speaking generally, liberal, that of Natal moderate, and that of the Free State and the Transvaal repressive.

The native is governed very largely under class legislation in the making of which he has had no voice. Conditions being what they are, some class legislation is unavoidable. For instance, native lands have been protected by special laws; the native has been protected against himself and against the liquor trade by special prohibition laws; in the interests of public safety, the native has been restricted in the possession of firearms; the franchise obviously could not be extended to natives generally in their present state. But nevertheless class legislation causes racial bitterness. Even some Christian total abstainers, for instance, resent the special prohibition law for natives because it is based on racial discrimination.

But more serious is the native's resentment against the pass laws, which limit his movements, subject him to annoyance at the hands of the police, and cause his imprisonment for merely being without the pass. He is compelled to be off the streets after nine o'clock, his social enjoyments being thus restricted.

The native is becoming conscious that he is subject to taxation without representation and is demanding a voice in the government of the country. He looks upon the European form of franchise, as well as of education, as alone offering any worth-while participation in political life and

any adequate protection of his interests. He views with suspicion the present government's attempts to establish parallel native institutions. His suspicion is increased by the possible change in the existing native franchise of the Cape Province which would result in the natives' voting apart from the whites. The provisions of the present bills for representation in Parliament by seven Europeans chosen by four provincial native constituencies, with a native national council and a system of local councils, are unsatisfactory to the native largely because of the restricted power of both types of representatives and the hedging about of the elective privileges. The Native Administration Act, obviously hurried through Parliament as a means of dealing with the increasingly bold agitation of the native industrial union (Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, "I. C. U."), makes it a punishable offence for any native gathering of more than ten persons to be held in native areas for other than religious purposes without the permission of the local chief and the approval of the Magistrate. Like most co-called "Shepstonian legislation" it leaves out the very important part of Shepstone's own policy, providing for native advancement. He looked forward through a worth-while exemption provision to the full privileges of civilization, ultimately including the franchise. This Act extends to the other provinces his system of governing the pagan masses, but apparently restricts exemption privileges and in other particulars more or less ignores the advancing native. The native feels keenly this repression of free speech.

The above is, I believe, a moderate statement of the difficulties of the South African racial situation from the native point of view.

IV. SOUTH AFRICA'S SPIRITUAL RESOURCES FOR THE SOLUTION OF ITS RACE PROBLEM

Her Statesmen

South Africa has not lacked in the past statesmen of broad vision and of Christian sympathy in the handling of this her

greatest problem. The most outstanding of all those whose names are associated with the native problem is Sir Theophilus Shepstone. The son of a missionary in the Cape Province, he came to his life-work in Natal with a background of understanding of the native mind, of native law and customs, and with a sympathy bred of having grown up as a boy in close companionship with native boys. The task facing him when he came as Diplomatic Agent for the Natal natives in 1846 was that of providing for the settlement and administration of the great masses of natives attracted into the colony, as it then was, of Natal. This territory, recently a wilderness, as the result of the military tactics of Chaka, was now becoming settled area under the occupation of the English settlers and the Dutch *voortrekkers* from beyond the *Berg*. His policy consisted of four main purposes:

1. To secure lands to the natives in perpetuity, such lands to be held, however, by the communal tribal tenure until such time as the intellectual and social progress of the natives should make individual tenure possible.

2. To provide for the education of the natives and their advancement in agricultural and other knowledge of civilized life in order that they might ultimately become assimilated to the civilized community growing up in the Province.

3. To provide for individual tenure by natives as rapidly as their advancement should make such tenure safe and beneficial.

4. To extend ultimately to the natives some form of franchise. He recognized that when the time came that a very considerable number of natives should have reached the stage of holding land by individual tenure, some form of franchise would be necessary, and he did not shrink from the full implications of that policy. He believed with Dr. Philip that the ideal solution of the relationship between white and black would be the permanent setting apart of separate areas in order that during the period of transition from barbarism and communal life to that of civilization and individualism, the true genius of native civilization should

not be violated, but that their development should proceed on natural lines. With this intent, he advocated the setting apart of an area between Cape Colony and Natal within which all the natives except such as might settle as permanent farm laborers on European farms should be settled as a nation. As was the case with the policies of Dr. Philip, so in the case of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the immediate economic demands of the white population and the fear of allowing a great black nation to exist on the borders of a European settlement resulted in a modification of his policy of separation so that instead of the unified area of his ideal he was compelled to accept a series of separated native locations, scattered here and there throughout the country, with European farms in the intervening spaces. This, it was thought, would insure a near and easily available reservoir of cheap labor for the farmers in all parts of the colony, and by its separation of the natives into many small groups and subtribes would serve as a valuable military measure of defense. In spite of the fact that this policy was thus deprived of much of its value, he was nevertheless able to secure to the native areas amounting in the aggregate to about 2,000,000 acres, in addition to which about 90,000 acres were set apart as mission reserves. The saving of these lands for native occupation has been of immense benefit to the natives, since without it the land problem, already extremely serious, would have been even more acute.

Shepstone's policy, as stated above, included provision for the education of the natives in these locations, but the parsimony of the government in those early days prevented the realization of his dreams. Later, coöperation of the government with the mission societies has gradually built up an educational system, to which reference will be made later, but in the meantime much that might have been accomplished by Shepstone's enlightened policy has been lost. It is interesting in passing to note not only that Shepstone's policy was based upon his knowledge of the missionary ideals which had so influenced Cape policy, but also that his setting apart of these native areas in Natal was based

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directly upon the experience of Allison and Grout, two early missionaries of the Wesleyan and American Board Missions respectively. Three missionaries served on the government commission which with Shepstone delimited the areas ultimately set apart.

Among Cape Colony statesmen the names of Schreiner, Sauer, and Solomon are outstanding as representatives of what is frequently referred to as the Negrophile attitude toward the native question. These men, frequently at the cost of bitter misunderstandings on the part of their opponents, consistently stood for humanitarian ideals in the legislation on native questions, and exerted a most important influence against the tendency to sacrifice native interests to temporary interests of the European population.

Jan Hofmeyer, also, although frequently in opposition to these men, left a fine reputation as a friend to the natives. Both Merriman and Sauer were always in opposition to his native policy, but acknowledged that his ideals and actions had always been on the highest plane of liberalism, and that he had ever been a man moderate and most fair-minded to natives, and the editor of the *Imvo* (an important native newspaper), at the time when opposition to the Hofmeyer policy was strongest, declared that he had throughout earned the gratitude of the natives by his service of their cause. Hofmeyer differed from the other men referred to not so much in his ultimate ideals regarding the native as in his practical policy of administration.

Amongst South African statesmen should be mentioned the Reverend James Stewart, M.D., D.D., who although a missionary and never taking any official part in South African politics, nevertheless deserves to be ranked among the greatest of South African statesmen. He was regarded by Lord Milner as the greatest "human" he had seen in South Africa, and his judgment was sought by government commissions on frequent occasions. As educationalist, he founded the great school at Lovedale, from which boys have gone to leaven the life of all parts of central and southern Africa. In the early days when whites as well as blacks

were admitted as students, its spirit was caught by many white boys who have since held important positions in the political life of the country. What Armstrong did for the Negro in America Stewart did for the Bantu in South Africa. His was the vision of the Native University, now an accomplished fact at Fort Hare. He did much, also, by creating and presenting the facts of true native development, to wear down the prejudice against missions.

It has been due to the efforts of such men of goodwill that, in the exigencies of South African politics and in spite of the constant predominance of European interest, so much that is of real benefit to the natives has been incorporated in legislation which forms the background to-day for the reasonable solution of the question, in spite of the many costly errors made in the past.

Among such outstanding benefits may be mentioned:

1. The Glen Grey Act. This measure, associated with the name of Cecil Rhodes, provided for the wisest and most successful experiment in native land-tenure and in native administration that South Africa has yet seen. Under it, communal lands in native districts in the Ciskei and the Transkei would be divided for individual tenure. Under this system the holder pays a nominal annual quit-rent for a surveyed lot of two *morgen*, conditional upon beneficial occupation and law-abiding conduct. A system of local councils, heading up in the District Council, provides an outlet for the native's desire for self-government and a training in those aspects of citizenship best suited to his present state of development.

The levying of local taxes by the native councils under guidance of the magistrates has made possible the provision of agricultural training and the appointment of agricultural demonstrators, to the great benefit of agriculture within the area. A great part of the success of the measure has been due to the magistrates, who have been and are men of high ideals and unusual understanding of the native question. These men put into their work true missionary spirit and are veritable fathers of the natives. They constitute one of the

most powerful forces in South Africa for maintaining among the natives faith in the white race. Amongst them the names of Brownlee and Stanford, Chief Magistrates at different periods, deserve special mention. The policy of the Transkei administration, based as it is upon the principles early laid down by Dr. Philip and by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, has come to be recognized as the norm for present-day attempts at a solution of the problem of native lands and administration, although the application of the system to areas largely settled by Europeans and where Europeans and natives are almost inextricably mingled is almost impossible.

Chief credit for the working out of these principles in a concrete policy belongs to Shepstone. The Cape policy erred in the direction of a hasty Europeanization, the Natal policy in over-emphasis on the maintenance of tribal conditions.

2. The protection of titles to lands set apart for native occupation. A second great legislative gain has been the establishing of security of titles for areas set apart for native occupation. Especially is this true of the Locations and Mission Reserves of Natal. Against the decided opposition of the colonial government, Shepstone succeeded in having secure titles for these lands vested in trusts, which have been repeatedly confirmed in subsequent legislation, so that very considerable areas are retained for native occupation which would undoubtedly have long ago been absorbed by Europeans but for the foresight of Shepstone and other great friends of the natives.

3. The Native Administration Act of 1920. Under this Act there was set up a permanent Native Affairs Commission whose function is a study of all aspects of native affairs and consultation with native opinion on all proposed legislation regarding natives, and the advising of the government with reference thereto. The value of such a Commission can scarcely be overemphasized, and the fact that the Commission has been created is a testimony to the good faith of the South African community and its appreciation of the

significance of the problem, to the need of its study by specialists, and to the desirability of continuity of policy in spite of party or departmental changes. It is regretted by some that the Commission is advisory and not executive, "that it has eyes and a tongue, but no hands," as the natives say, but a little study will show how impossible it is for a body to perform both functions where so vast a problem is involved.

Under the same Act, provision was made for the establishment of native councils on the Glen Grey system. Because of the difficulty of applying the council system in areas where the native population is not concentrated in a large administrative area, the system has not thus far been extended, but steps are now being taken toward its extension to Natal and elsewhere in a modified form.

The third feature of the same Act was the establishing of a consultative conference of representative natives with the Minister for Native Affairs. This Conference has now been held for several consecutive years, and is gradually coming to be recognized by the natives as a valuable means of making known their opinions regarding native law and administration, and seems to be gradually developing into a kind of secondary parliament. Investigation is being made of the possibility of making representation in the Conference elective instead of, as now, by government selection.

4. The Urban Areas Act of 1923. While some features of this Act have been repugnant to the more advanced natives because of its implied recognition of the principle of segregation, undoubted benefits are accruing to the natives in urban areas in the form of better housing, better supervision of health, and better provision for recreation and social improvement and for participation by natives, through advisory boards, in the control of local conditions in their urban settlements.

5. The confirmation in the Act of Union of 1910 of the Cape native franchise. It had been the policy of the Cape Colony for many years, largely as a result of the missionary influence of the early days, to grant full franchise rights to

all natives who met certain conditions as to education and possession of property. The Orange Free State and the Transvaal have consistently from the beginning set their faces against any form of franchise for natives, and in Natal the conditions have been so severe that only a very few individuals have attained to the privilege. When the four provinces were united to form the Union in 1910, the Cape Province maintained its traditions by insisting upon confirmation in the Act of the already existing franchise in the Cape Province. Present efforts in pending legislation to abolish the Cape franchise and to extend a limited franchise to natives throughout the Union must face the existence of this Cape franchise and its worthy use through a long period of years as a factor of importance to be reckoned with.

Her Publicists

Friends of the natives must for ever be grateful that there have been raised up in South Africa students of the native problem who have brought to bear on it high intelligence and earnest purpose to see the question from both sides, although they were involved in all that the problem means for the white population. One need but mention such names as Maurice Evans, author of *Black and White in Southeast Africa* and of *Black and White in the Southern States of America*, Ethelbert Stevens, author of *Black and White*, Peter Nilsen, author of *The Place of the Black Man in South Africa*, and Dr. C. T. Loram, author of *The Education of the South African Native*, to indicate the amount of material of the most valuable kind available for the dispassionate study of this problem. Some of these men have also rendered distinguished service in practical ways, Mr. Evans as a member of the Union Commission on Native Affairs of 1905–6, and Dr. Loram, for many years chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal, and a member of the permanent Native Affairs Commission since its inception.

Her Universities

A fact full of richest promise for the ultimate wise solution of the native problem is that Bantu studies have become an

important part of the curriculum in the University of Capetown, in the Witwatersrand University, and in the University of the Transvaal. From the faculties of these institutions there has been coming a series of important studies of this question which are gradually becoming available to the general public in book form. Professor Edgar Brooks of the Transvaal University has published an important work on the *History of Native Policy in South Africa;* Professor Macmillan has recently issued a *History of Native Policy in the Cape Province*, which furnishes a vindication of the so-called Negrophile policy of Dr. Philip and his supporters; Dr. C. M. Doke of the Witwatersrand University is becoming a world authority on the phonetics of the Bantu languages; Mr. J. D. Rheinaalt Jones, the Assistant Registrar of the University of Witwatersrand, and Honorary Secretary of the Johannesburg Joint Council, has become a trusted authority on the economic and legislative aspects of the native question, and is exerting an important influence in the education of South African public opinion. The South African Society for the Advancement of Science has as one of its permanent divisions a section on native affairs. The influence of the universities both upon the body of students who are to become the leaders of South African life and upon the general public is of immense importance, because the native question assumes an increasingly important place in the thoughts of the community.

The European Church and the Native Problem

Relation of the natives to European church organization is a very complex problem. As has been already indicated, the policy of the church in the earliest days of European settlement was the admission of white and colored members on equal terms into the life of the church. Although it soon became evident that such mingling could not be for the permanent benefit of either race, its value as a testimony that the Church knows no color bar was inestimable. Certain of the South African churches still maintain the policy in theory, but as a matter of practical administration

there has grown up in all denominations a distinct native church, in most cases still related to the mother church and represented in its synods, but in its worship distinct, using the native languages, and gradually becoming provided with a trained native leadership. In the case of churches established by missions from abroad, without white congregations in South Africa, the policy has been the establishing of a native church which should ultimately become self-supporting, self-controlling, and self-propagating. This policy has its most outstanding illustration, though by no means the only one, in the recently established Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa, which is the outcome of the union between the church established by the United Free Church of Scotland and the native section of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa.

Contact of white and black in church synods is a problem chiefly related to the one we have just considered. There has been an undoubted benefit to inter-racial relationship in the contact of the laity as well as the clergy of the various European churches with the native leaders in the church synods. Serious problems inevitably arise in the churches where this system prevails. The difficulty of coördinating the interests of two sections of the church which are at very different stages of development, when the great majority of the representatives in the synod are familiar with the conditions of their own section only, is no small matter. Moreover, the social difficulties arising when public receptions are given at European centers during meetings of these synods frequently cause heart-burnings, and there is frequently suspicion on the part of the native section that the white section desires to dominate the life of the native church. Nevertheless the mutual forbearance exercised by both races under trying conditions, the better understanding of each other's point of view, and the recognition by the native section of the earnest efforts on the part of the white section of their own church to secure for them better conditions of life, all tend toward racial coöperation.

The influence of the church is increasingly shaping public

opinion. The various sections of the European church are becoming increasingly conscious of their duty to give a lead to public opinion on matters of native policy in which the principle of human rights is obviously concerned. Protests against certain injustices in the Land Act of 1913, against the Color Bar Bill, against the inequality of sentences meted out to native and European offenders respectively, have had weight with the European community, and have impressed the native people with the fact that the church is awakening to the necessity for spiritual leadership in these concerns of social import.

The General Missionary Conference of South Africa, which meets triennially, and the provincial conferences meeting annually, have in recent years devoted a considerable portion of their programs to the consideration of the economic and social aspects of the native problem. Thoughtful native leaders are becoming associated with these conferences and are frequently asked to present the native point of view, thus forming another important opportunity for inter-racial understanding and coöperation. The missionary himself, representing the goodwill of the white race to the native, responsible for most that the native has attained in civilization, and in touch with the Europeans to interpret to them the native mind and native aspirations, is perhaps the most important factor in the bettering of racial relationships.

Special mention must be made of the conferences organized by the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Church. Two such conferences have now been held, in 1923 and in 1927. It is especially appropriate that these conferences should be initiated by the Dutch Reformed Church, which has hitherto had a reputation for conservatism with reference to native intellectual, economic, and political advancement. Moreover, this church represents the largest numerical constituency and its membership consists of the race for the moment dominant in the political life of the country.

These conferences have brought together not only repre-

sentatives of ecclesiastical bodies, but students of the native problem, and administrators of native affairs, professors from the universities, missionaries, and municipal location managers, government officials, and the recognized leaders of the natives themselves. These have all rubbed shoulders in these conferences, and have worked out together in their discussions important principles of native policy which are exercising immense influence. As a sample of the work of these conferences it may be worth while to present at this point a résumé of the resolutions passed by the last conference:

A. On the Land Question

1. That local committee areas should be set aside for native acquisition only.
2. That, with sufficient safeguard to native interests, the natives be encouraged to enter upon ownership of the land available.
3. That a system of lease-farming under control of a land board be substituted for squatting, labor tenancy, and share-farming.
4. That provision be made for the financing of the scheme, including the securing of land, agricultural training, etc.

B. On the Economic Position

The Conference urged the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the economic position of the natives, which presents so many discouraging features.

Certain resolutions seeking to improve the Union Native Council Bill in the direction of making the Union Native Council a more representative and more effective body were also passed.

Coöperation Between the Government and the Church in Education

"From the earliest times native education has owed its inception and subsequent expansion to the missionary, and it is only in recent years that the duty of the State has been

even partially realized. It is still, therefore, upon the missionary that the burden chiefly falls."[1] Since the governments, first of the separate colonies, and then the government of the Union, have come to realize the import to South Africa of the educational system built up by the missionaries, native education has furnished the field of most direct and most profitable coöperation between the government, the church, and the natives.

The progress made since this recognition became general is indicated by the following figures:

	No. of Schools	*Enrolment*	*Attendance*	*Government Grant*
CAPE				
1890	442 (native and colonial)	39,859	28,388	
1925	1,601 (native only)	121,661	97,878	
NATAL				
1877	42	2,390	1,506	£1,938
1925	492	38,411	26,081	64,021
TRANSVAAL				
1906	197	11,730	9,896	7,942
1925	351	39,420	37,476	61,961
ORANGE FREE STATE				
1903				2,000
1925	200	15,815		14,000

For the financial year ending March 31, 1927, the expenditure of the various provinces was:

Cape	£316,820
Natal	70,133
Transvaal	69,680
Orange Free State	21,439
	£478,072

Progress similar to that in the figures tabulated above is shown in the advance in the scale of education available. Whereas thirty years ago Standard 4 was considered a sufficiently advanced education for native pupils and but

[1] Malcolm, D. McK., in *Christianity and the Natives in South Africa.*

little provision was made for progress beyond that standard, to-day in all provinces training colleges exist in which special professional training is given to native students preparing to become teachers in native schools. High schools offer academic courses aiming at the Junior Certificate of the University of South Africa. In addition to these there is now a native university at Fort Hare, which receives candidates for the B.A. degree, and offers also opportunity for training in business and agriculture on collegiate standards. In spite of all the progress, however, only thirty-five per cent. of the entire school population is at present provided for with school facilities in the Cape Province, thirty-two per cent. in the Transvaal, twenty-four per cent. in Natal, and only nine per cent. in the Orange Free State.

Coöperation Through Inter-racial Councils

Perhaps the most promising of all the existing forces for inter-racial coöperation and for the improvement of public opinion, and the bettering of the natives' economic and political status, is the inter-racial councils. The first impetus toward the establishing of these councils came from the Inter-racial Council of the United States of America through the visit of the late Dr. J. E. Kwegyir Aggrey, who visited South Africa with the Phelps-Stokes Commission. There are to-day eighteen of these councils established in the various cities and towns throughout the country. The Johannesburg Joint Council is by far the most active and most efficient, and a review of its activities for a single year, with the documented results of its studies and the memoranda prepared for presentation to the government, would constitute a respectable volume.

In the "Local" section we find the following subjects dealt with: housing, water, light, roads, trams, night passes for women, native crime, homes for the destitute, aged, and children, and hostels for native women. Definite efforts have been undertaken by the Council under each of these heads. An exhaustive study of the causes of native crime constitutes an important contribution to the study of this

important aspect of the problem. Under the section "National" the Council reports representations' having been made, involving personal appearance before select committees of Parliament on half a dozen bills incorporating the native policy of the present government. It would be quite impossible in the space available to give any adequate estimate of the immense value to South Africa of the work being done through the inter-racial councils. Steps are in contemplation for the coördination of the separate councils into a national organization, with a full-time secretary. The councils are increasingly commanding the confidence of the natives and are becoming an increasingly important factor in the shaping of public opinion.

European Philanthropy

Another important contribution to better inter-racial understanding is the growing willingness of European men of means to make financial contribution toward institutions for the benefit of the native population. Without taking into account the very considerable sums of money contributed annually by the European churches of the country for their own mission work amongst the natives, the following important examples of European philanthropy are worthy of mention. The Chamber of Mines in coöperation with the Social Service Department of the American Board Mission is devoting about $30,000 *per annum* to the maintenance of a weekly free moving picture show at every mine compound in the Witwatersrand area. Stimulated by a large investment of money from donors in America, the Johannesburg commercial community also contributed toward the erection of the Bantu Men's Social Center. These two enterprises represent a very large and important experiment in social service. Recently an athletic field of nine acres has been added to the plant by another gift. Moreover, the municipalities of the Union, acting under the Urban Areas Act, have in the four years since the Act was passed devoted approximately £23,000,000 to the housing of their non-European inhabitants.

Progress of the Natives Themselves

The chief force in supplying the leaven which has gradually permeated native society and is transforming it represents to-day a total membership of approximately 525,000. These Christians contribute annually towards the support of their own church life £200,000 and in addition about £50,000 for education. Very many of the immense social changes which are taking place in the life of the native races have their root in the church. The pagan hut is gradually being displaced by the square house, in many instances of brick. Communal tenure is gradually giving way in the mission stations to some form of individual tenure. Agriculture shows very considerable improvement as compared with primitive native methods, though there is still much to be desired. Native farm demonstrators have recently been placed in certain districts and are doing excellent work in the instruction of native farmers in seed-selection, planting, and cultivation. The replacement of Europeans by natives in native educational service has made great progress, and in civil service in native areas the process has begun, though on a small scale so far. The inauguration of a definite native civil service is contemplated in pending legislation. Trained native visiting teachers, on the plan of the Jeanes Fund teachers, are helping to keep the native teachers in primary schools up to high standards of work. Natives are gradually making their way into the skilled industries of the country. Such enactments as the Color Bar Act of 1926 and the Transvaal Motor Vehicle Ordinance Amendment Act of 1927 (which prohibits natives from driving any motor vehicle in which Europeans are riding) cannot permanently stem the tide which is flowing toward full participation by natives in the industrial life of the country. The natives are also finding their way gradually into commercial life, establishing trading stores in municipal native locations and other native areas. The native newspaper is an important index to native progress, as well as an important means of forming and directing native opinion.

The number of native newspapers within the Union increased from eight in 1911 to sixteen in 1923, but three discontinued publication between 1922 and 1923. These newspapers represent all grades of excellence, from high standards of editorial proficiency to rather crude efforts. Already there is a class of natives corresponding, relatively to the position of their people, to the intelligentsia of the European social fabric. The native chiefs who depend for their authority upon the perpetuation of the tribal, communal social system are becoming uneasy at the increasing leadership of the educated native, exercised through such organizations as the Native National Congress, and the I. C. U. (Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union). The first of these is a loosely organized political organization which aims to secure political rights for the native people by agitation and other constitutional means. The latter is or purports to be a Trades Union, but its membership consists of native workers from every kind of employment and its activities are much wider than those of the legitimate Trades Union. Inclined to extremes in its demands, and to hasty and dangerous expedients in its policy of action, it is nevertheless doing a useful service in calling attention to the serious economic injustices in the organization of agricultural and industrial services.

Recent Court Decisions

There has been some danger that the native would have cause to lose his confidence in the impartial justice of the white race as expressed in the courts. The ever-present problem in the administration of justice, of assuring that the law shall not protect the strong against the weak, is multiplied in South Africa by the facts of the difference of color and difference of development in civilization.

In many instances in criminal cases involving offenses by whites against blacks it has not proved possible to get just verdicts from white juries, and acquittals or inadequate sentences have left a burning sense of injustice. In a recent case the judge limited the jury to replying to certain ques-

tions of fact and himself pronounced a verdict of substantial punishment on the white offender. It is in jury cases and not trial by judges that partizan verdicts occur.

A series of recent decisions of the higher courts has done much to restore the confidence of the natives in the ultimate sense of justice of the white race, and of the impartiality of the courts.

The most outstanding of such cases was that of the conviction and execution of a European who during the general strike of 1922 had deliberately murdered a native.

In civil actions the case of Stillwell and Thompson *vs.* Kama in 1916 resulted in the decision that the Land Act of 1913 was *ultra vires* in so far as its application to the Cape Province was concerned, because its provisions regarding transactions in land outside scheduled native areas were repugnant to the franchise rights of natives in the Cape Province as confirmed in the Act of Union of 1909. Here a cherished article of political policy, which in the eyes of the natives was anti-native, was overthrown by a decision of the Supreme Court, based on the vested rights of the natives.

In 1922 the Provincial Council of the Transvaal passed a taxation ordinance imposing a provincial poll-tax upon natives, in addition to the Union tax, which they were already paying. When a test case was taken to the Supreme Court the case was decided against the Provincial Government, the measure being declared *ultra vires*, and thousands of pounds, which had been paid under protest while the case was pending, had to be refunded to those who had paid the tax.

The same province attempted to apply to native women a native pass law which had been framed before the number of native women in urban areas was sufficient to cause any serious problem. When appeal was made the law was declared *ultra vires*, and the rights of the native in the case—even the native woman, who has little status in native law—were protected against the Provincial Government.

Two cases of more recent occurrence have evidenced the

protection of the individual native's rights. Clements Kadalie, National Secretary of the I. C. U., was forbidden by executive order of the Union Secretary for Native Affairs from visiting Natal, in pursuit of the objects of his organization. Kadalie, having taken legal advice, ignored the order and was arrested under the Pass Law, on which dependence was placed, for having entered Natal without a pass, but it was proved in Court that he had not violated any provision of the law, and he was acquitted.

In a still more recent case, an educated native was arrested in Kokstad on his way home from a lecture, because he could not produce a pass, although he explained to the police that he was a registered voter under the law of the Cape, and therefore was not required to carry a pass. He was subjected to certain indignities which led to his suing the police for damages for illegal arrest. He was given the full damages asked for, and the presiding judge warned the police that in arresting any person not actually apprehended in the act of committing a breach of the peace they were running a risk.

Thus, in spite of many legacies of short-sighted and mistaken policy from the past, in spite of some hasty, ill-considered legislation of the present period, in spite of the overshadowing problem of the fair division of the land, in spite of economic difficulties, complicated rather than alleviated by recent legislation, and in spite of evidence of the resurgence of a reactionary spirit in some quarters and of a deeper racial bitterness amongst some sections of the natives, there is enough in the better elements of South Africa's past history and enough in the available spiritual resources of the present to give hope that her problem will find a solution that will be consonant with the principles of human right, and that will commend itself to the conscience of the world.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE OCCIDENTAL AND ORIENTAL PEOPLES ON THE PACIFIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA

Galen M. Fisher, M.A.

I. ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

THE Pacific Coast States of the United States and the Province of British Columbia have provided the chief testing-ground for the adjustment of Orientals [1] to an indigenous white population. An understanding of the problem requires a brief review of Chinese and Japanese immigration into those areas.

About the middle of last century, Chinese immigrants began to enter the United States, and by 1883 some 275,000, mostly men, had arrived, although a large number returned to China. Thereafter for ten years the number of arrivals fell sharply on account of exclusion legislation, averaging some 3,000 entries a year. With deduction for departures and deaths there remained in continental United States, in 1920, 61,639 Chinese, including both foreign- and American-born.

The Japanese immigration to the United States began in 1870 and rose gradually till 1900, and rapidly between 1900 and 1908, when by virtue of the so-called "Gentleman's Agreement" between the Japanese and American Governments the number of new arrivals was markedly reduced. Members of families continued to come in accordance with the agreement, but the arrival of male laborers practically ceased. In 1920 there were 111,010 Japanese including both foreign- and American-born, remaining in continental United States.[2] Between 1910 and 1923 a large number of

[1] In this paper "Orientals" is used to refer only to Chinese and Japanese.

[2] The figures here used for both Chinese and Japanese are those given

Japanese women came to America to marry Japanese settlers or their sons. They were popularly called "picture brides." When American feeling became aroused over this practice, the Japanese Government ceased giving passports to "picture brides." Finally, the American Immigration Act of 1924 debarred Japanese immigration as completely as Chinese immigration had already been stopped by previous legislation.

Chinese immigration into Canada began soon after 1870, and by 1901 there were 16,792 Chinese in the country, the great majority being laborers in British Columbia. Successive head taxes of $50 (1886), $100 (1901), and $500 (1904) only temporarily checked the number of arrivals, as shown by the fact that between 1886 and 1920 the tax was paid by 78,748. After other restrictive measures had proved only partially effective, there was enacted the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, which allows the entry of non-laborers only. According to the census, there were 27,774 Chinese in Canada in 1911, and in 1925 there were 50,000, of whom 38,000 were in British Columbia. The women and girls number less than 2,500, and the regulations are such as to make practically impossible the entry of more women.

Japanese immigration into Canada was slight until after 1907, when the restrictions against the entry of Japanese into the United States impelled them into Canada. In 1901 Japanese residents numbered 4,674, of whom all but 259 were in British Columbia. In 1925 their number was given as 17,691.

Instead of restricting Japanese immigration by legislation, the governments of Canada and Japan entered in 1908 into a "Gentleman's Agreement" whereby Japan undertook to allow not more than 400 laborers to emigrate annually

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in the U. S. Census. That they understate the actual numbers has been demonstrated by Dr. C. Luther Fry in his paper, "Illegal Entry of Orientals into the United States between 1910 and 1920," *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association*, June, 1928. He shows from the Census itself that the minimum numbers smuggled into the United States were 7,167 Chinese and 9,427 Japanese.

to Canada. By request of Canada the number was reduced in 1924 to 150 a year.

From an early period the churches and allied agencies in North America established "missions" to teach the Chinese, and later the Japanese, both Christianity and the English language and, to some extent, to aid them in finding employment. The gross sums expended in these activities were considerable, and many Americans and Canadians voluntarily gave their services as teachers.

The noble spirit animating these efforts and the good accomplished by them have received merited appreciation from many Orientals but, at the same time, the somewhat restricted program of activities and the patronizing attitude of some white workers have been the subject of disparaging comments by other Orientals. A comprehensive summary and appraisal of certain of these philanthropic activities will be given later. At this point attention is directed to certain enveloping or underlying social factors which have impeded and, to a considerable degree, neutralized the efforts of religious and philanthropic agencies to foster coöperation and goodwill between Orientals and whites. The failure to recognize these factors and make allowance for them has led not a few workers for inter-racial welfare to cherish unwarranted expectations of the results of their efforts.

II. UNDERLYING FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROMOTION OF GOODWILL AND COÖPERATION

The general social factors which are to be mentioned as conditioning efforts to promote right relations fall under four main heads: legislative, political, economic, and cultural.

The restrictions applied to Orientals by both the United States and Canada bulk large in the consciousness of Orientals. In the case of the Japanese, American legislation constitutes a much more serious impediment to good feeling on the part of Orientals than does Canadian legislation. The outstanding reason appears to be that Canada has

allowed its Gentleman's Agreement with Japan to stand, whereas the United States Congress abruptly and by unilateral action abrogated the Gentleman's Agreement with Japan and enacted the stringent Immigration Act of 1924, which excludes Japan from the quota basis applied to all European nations. Japan was conscious of having faithfully observed the Gentleman's Agreement and expected its termination or revision to be made in gentlemanly fashion. The limitation of Chinese immigration into the United States, on the other hand, had in the first instance been arranged by treaty, and doubtless for this reason, among others, the subsequent exclusion laws, though drastic, did not evoke from them as vehement protests as were made by the Japanese. A further complication in the case of the United States has been the severely restrictive legislation as to landownership by Asiatics, adopted by California and other western States, which has made it difficult for Asiatics to develop the land and has made them feel that they were decidedly unwelcome to the majority of the citizens. Still another factor has been the decision of the United States Supreme Court that Asiatic immigrants are ineligible to naturalization. Many of the Japanese immigrants had looked forward eagerly to the day when they could claim American citizenship. The conciliatory policy of the Japanese Government was shown when, in 1924, a law was enacted removing the "dual-nationality" barrier which had made it impossible for Japanese to become American citizens. The law provides that unless parents of a Japanese child born in the United States register the child as a Japanese subject in a Japanese consulate within fourteen days of birth, the child will automatically lose Japanese status and be possessed solely of American citizenship.

In Canada Japanese and Chinese have the right of naturalization, and may own land. In British Columbia, however, they are debarred from exercising the suffrage, even when naturalized, and there are restrictions on the owning and licensing of ships by Orientals.

A still further legislative irritant in the United States is

the so-called miscegenation law, which forbids the marriage of whites and colored persons, including Oriental. This prevails in California and some of the other western States. While the motive of the law was undoubtedly in part to prevent the serious handicaps which are suffered by the children of mixed marriages, the law has done injustice to the children of illegitimate unions between whites and colored persons by depriving them of the rights of inheritance and also by denying the colored person involved protection in property rights.

The cumulative ill-effect on Orientals of the entire legislative record of the United States has been very great. It has unquestionably chilled the feelings of the Japanese people toward America. The heritage of goodwill which various philanthropic acts had won for America among both the Chinese and the Japanese peoples has been to a great degree neutralized. Furthermore, very few individual immigrants have been able to rid themselves of a sense of the injustice and stigma of the legislation against them. Even when they are the recipients of unaffected kindliness and equal treatment by individual Americans and Canadians or by white organizations, they find it next to impossible to disassociate the individual and the group from the deliberate legislative acts of the State or province and of the nation, particularly because they know that Americans and Canadians boast of living in countries where the will of the majority is supreme.

An illustration, by no means exceptional, of the blighting effect of discriminatory legislation is afforded by the following statement of a Japanese minister in central California:

"I have watched Christian America break almost every ideal I possess. In the face of the immense efforts of the Japanese to adjust themselves to American life and ideals and habits and to show that they could be assimilated, the American people have passed one unjust law after another until we wonder whether there is any justice left in America. I have been saddened and lost heart to see many American

churches and pastors side with these anti-Oriental measures."[1]

The political factors involved in Oriental-Occidental inter-racial situations depend largely upon the legislative factors already described, but there are certain distinctive points involved. On the part of Americans, particularly, there was for several years preceding the Washington Conference of 1921–2, a widespread belief that the Japanese Government was dominated by an oligarchy which was unscrupulously militaristic and had sinister designs toward China. This belief was fanned by sensational American journals and publicists so that it probably came to be held by a majority of the Americans on the Pacific Coast and by a growing number in other parts of the country. The naval and other self-denying agreements of the Washington Conference, together with the poverty of the Japanese Government and the rising tide against militarism among the Japanese people, have helped to allay the belief referred to, but there is still a tendency among Americans to distrust the Japanese policy toward China.

The Japanese, on the other hand, have come increasingly to entertain a suspicion and fear of American political policies toward China. This suspicion was first aroused by the American proposal in 1909 to internationalize the Manchurian railways, and it was later strengthened by the anti-Japanese agitation and legislation in the United States on the one hand and by the financial activity of Americans in China on the other. The American discriminatory legislation against Japanese has made it hard for them to put a good construction on anything which either the American Government or American business corporations do in China. Some Japanese are even disposed to believe that the American missionary enterprise in China is merely a cloak for financial and political penetration.

Even though the Washington Agreement restricted the

[1] Document 454. *Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast.* For reference to other studies on this subject see "Scientific Studies Bearing on Oriental-White Relations," section VI of this chapter, p. 166.

naval programs of both America and Japan, many Americans have believed that the rapid construction of auxiliary naval craft by the Japanese was a menace to American interests in the Far East, whereas the Japanese have taken exception to the elaborate fortification of the Hawaiian Islands, as well as to the "dog in the manger" attitude of the American Government toward Japanese development projects in Mexico and Central America.

The economic factor is intertwined to some extent with the legislative and the political. In the Far East, the desire of Americans to have a free field for investment and for the sale of fuel oil and manufactured products makes them sensitive to the competition of the Japanese manufacturers and shippers who have the advantage of proximity and lower labor costs. In America, the economic factor has played an interesting rôle. In the first instance Orientals were welcomed. Thousands of Chinese helped build the transcontinental railroads and open up the California mines. In the case of Hawaii the Japanese were imported in large numbers to work on the plantations, while in California they were eagerly desired by farmers and industrialists. In the course of time, however, the more ambitious and capable Orientals invaded the realm of skilled labor and charges of underbidding and lowering the standard of living were freely made against them. There seems to be no doubt that in Honolulu the increase of Japanese artizans crowded out white artizans to such a degree that several of the white trade unions which at one time were flourishing have ceased to exist. On the mainland, during the past decade, there appears to have been little ground for the charge as to undercutting wages. Accordingly, decreasing stress has been laid by white labor and political leaders on the slogan, "Maintain the standard of living against Oriental competition." American industrialists, managers of large farms, and bankers have been comparatively friendly to the economic advance of Oriental settlers, but in recent years European immigrants in California have found it irksome to compete with Oriental laborers, and have joined the labor unions and

certain other groups in determined opposition to them. The legislation tending to drive Orientals off the land has only changed the theater of competition with whites from the open country to the cities, to which the Japanese, like the Chinese before them, have tended to gravitate in order to enter various forms of labor and business. A considerable proportion of the Japanese immigrants, however, are remaining on the land, either as laborers or as operators, by the device of having the title registered in the names of their American-born children. The net result, therefore, of the restrictive land legislation has been to dislocate the occupational status of the Japanese, and to leave in the minds of Americans and Japanese alike a feeling of uncertainty as to the future.

The Japanese born in the United States and Canada find themselves in a situation quite different from that of the original immigrants. They go through the public schools and a growing proportion of them acquire a higher education, but social discrimination is such that the better trained find it extremely difficult anywhere on the Pacific Coast to secure positions commensurate with their abilities. It is not to be wondered at that some of those who had looked forward with high hopes to happy and successful careers among a people that exult in freedom and in democratic opportunity should experience a revulsion of feeling and become pessimistic and critical of everything in the land which virtually disowns them.

As the Chinese have been longer in America, a growing number of them are of the third generation, who are so thoroughly assimilated in everything but physique that they meet with less difficulty than the second-generation Orientals in securing business and professional openings. But even they run sooner or later against a suppressed but persistent color prejudice.

Against the economic background which has been sketched it will be evident that the efforts to foster cordial understanding and coöperative relations between the races is surrounded by the greatest difficulties.

The cultural factors in the situation, in addition to those already touched upon, consist chiefly of the contrasting religious, communal, and social standards. To the Orientals, the self-confident superiority and patronizing airs towards them of well-meaning Occidentals, including many Christians, are very offensive. To patriotic Americans and Canadians, on the other hand, the establishment of Buddhist temples and the admittedly narrow and nationalistic spirit of many of the Buddhist priests and school teachers are distasteful and disquieting. Again, Occidentals find fault with Oriental residents because their family system and clan unity hinder social assimilation, but the fault-finders are themselves equally to blame because they almost totally exclude Orientals from their social life. Orientals in North America have perforce come into contact with the less cultured types of Canadians and Americans. Furthermore, the representation of Occidental life which the Orientals get through moving pictures is generally such as to breed contempt for the culture and morality of the West. On the other hand, few Americans or Canadians have come into personal contact with the cultivated representatives of the Oriental races, and the tendency inherited from slavery days to look down on Negroes has been unconsciously transferred to their attitude toward Orientals, all the more readily because the bulk of the immigrants were crude peasants.

The possibility of intermarriage between Orientals and Occidentals epitomizes a complex of fears and prejudices which presents a formidable barrier to friendly intercourse and coöperation between them. Even Occidental parents, who find pleasure in personal association with Orientals and gladly support missionary and philanthropic enterprises for their benefit, are reluctant to have their children mingle too freely with Oriental school and college mates lest attachment lead to marriage. Not a few Oriental parents share the same anxiety for their American-born children, since their pride of race and family—particularly in the case of the Japanese—is fully as intense as that of

their Occidental neighbors. The chief difference lies in the fact that the American-born Oriental youth will labor under a social handicap whether he marries a Westerner or a person of his own race, whereas the Westerner who marries a person of Oriental descent generally suffers some loss of status. In fact, the number of intermarriages has been very small, even where there has been no law to prevent them; but the fear of them and the constant possibility that "the lightning may strike our house next" will continue to act like a wet blanket on all efforts to bring about close and equal fellowship and coöperation between the races. It is not the province of this paper to suggest a way out of this dilemma, but a caution will not be out of place. The biologists know very little as yet about the product of intermarriage between Orientals and whites, but what they do know seems to indicate that the drawbacks are not biological but social, because of the discrimination visited on the offspring. Here is a problem calling not only for charity and tolerance but for the unraveling processes of time and the light of patient scientific study. Meanwhile, it may not be amiss to point out that the "fear of intermarriage" may have been adopted as a catchword by many to avoid the necessity of clear thinking on the problem. This much at least may be hazarded—while there is danger of marriages resulting from unrestrained association between the youth of two races, there is practically no such danger in normal social contacts and coöperation between mature and cultivated adults of the two races.

The schisms and suspicions within the Oriental groups themselves seriously handicap all efforts at inter-racial coöperation. An American university professor intimately and sympathetically acquainted with the situation elaborates this point in a letter to the author, which may be summarized as follows:

In local communities and along the Pacific Coast as a whole only a fraction of the Japanese or Chinese will follow any leader of their own race. There are various lines of cleavage—Christian *versus* non-Christian, pro-American

versus anti-American, older generation *versus* younger generation, urban dwellers *versus* agricultural workers. Among these various factions a local Christian Oriental may acquire a certain degree of leadership and may exercise a moderating influence, but no such leader commands a majority following. This should not be surprising in the case of a Christian, since the non-Christians greatly preponderate, but it is said that no non-Christian leader, either, has long been followed by a majority of his fellow nationals.

"It is well known that their meetings are honeycombed with petty politics. The first-generation Japanese are interested in agriculture, hence the 'Japanese Associations.' The second-generation Japanese are interested in city callings, hence the chambers of commerce, and the clash between the two, with the consuls favoring one, then the other. Besides, the language handicap of the older generation can scarcely be overemphasized."

These weaknesses among the Orientals are pointed out here only to throw into relief the difficulties with which both Oriental and white promoters of goodwill must contend. The professor already quoted adds this comment:

"I sincerely believe there is not closer inter-racial coöperation because of lack of response by Asiatics rather than because of lack of exhibited friendship by Americans. The record of work by the religious and philanthropic groups in California, particularly in the southern part, appears to me very impressive."

When all the factors which have been discussed are massed together it does not seem strange that the endeavor to bring about mutual respect, fellowship, and coöperation between Orientals and whites along the Pacific Coast has proved so difficult. Indeed, the degree of success achieved is an impressive evidence of the overcoming power of Christian and democratic convictions on the part of many whites, and of forbearance and laudable ambition on the part of many Orientals. There are three other factors which hinder the promotion of inter-racial goodwill and coöperation on the Pacific Coast of North America, but since

these factors are not peculiar to that area but have equal force in all areas of colored-white contact, they will be sketched only briefly to round out the picture.

The prominence and persistence of a colored skin and an Asiatic physiognomy make the Oriental among white populations everywhere a marked person. He cannot merge into the crowd. His foreign face stands out like a uniform. The theater and the movies used often to make the slant-eyed Chinese the villain in the plot. Unthinking Westerners came to associate Oriental features with trickiness and crime. The notoriety of "Chinatown" in the American city as a center of gambling, opium "dens," and noisome odors has strengthened the association of unpleasant ideas with Oriental faces.

Professor Eliot Grinnell Mears suggests an historical origin for the color prejudice in California:

"Californians have inherited a distinct color prejudice from the early conquerors, who found the territory peopled with dark-skinned Indians and Spaniards. This feeling is not nearly so strong in the Pacific Northwest, where there is less imprint from other than white races."[1]

The repercussion of the Negro problem on sober opinion in the three Coast States was thus explained in 1920 by President Ray Lyman Wilbur:

"The present anti-Japanese sentiment seems to me to be fairly universal among all classes of citizens (except perhaps among those who might be called the strictly intellectual groups) in California, Washingon, and Oregon. There has been a spread of this sentiment throughout the United States, largely owing its origin to California and to the fact that the redistribution of the colored race (Negroes) into the northern States due to war activities has brought before all thinking citizens the fear of adding another race problem to the almost insoluble one now faced by the United States."[2]

[1] Mears, E. G., *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast*, New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1927.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 21

The fallacy of generalizing about an entire people on the basis of a few chance encounters with individuals is one to which every person is prone. The average Occidental, after a few contacts with Orientals or even on the basis of second-hand reports about them, is likely to take a definite set for or against all Orientals. Suspension of judgment, wide inquiry into the facts, a charitable construction of strange behavior are all too rare even among intelligent Christian people.

The liability of friction between a native and an immigrant race in a community with a normal economic basis, like California, depends largely on the number and distribution of the immigrants. If the ratio of the immigrants to the native population rises to several per cent., if the immigrants are concentrated in a few localities, and if the speed of their influx is suddenly increased, then the danger of the dominant native race's taking alarm and adopting repressive measures is enhanced. But in a community like Hawaii, which has an abnormal economic basis, there is no danger of serious friction so long as the immigrants are willing to stay in humble occupations. The tendency to friction appears as soon as the children of the immigrants begin to compete with their white contemporaries. In Hawaii there are signs that this stage has been entered, but the friction has been to a large extent prevented or allayed by the powerful missionary tradition among the Americans, and by the friendly, restrained attitude of the Orientals, due in part to wise local leadership, in part to pressure from Japan, and in part to the *force majeure* of American authority.

III. GOODWILL ACTIVITIES BY CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS

From an early period in the coming of Orientals to America Christian organizations and groups have carried on various enterprises for the fostering of goodwill and cooperation between Orientals and whites. Speaking broadly, they were for many years mostly one-sided efforts by

Americans to help and befriend the Oriental. This was almost inevitably so, since there were few Orientals possessed of sufficient command of English and of American customs to mingle socially or to work together as equals with the whites and also, as already explained, since both the Chinese and the Japanese communities have suffered from factions suspicious of any attempt at unifying leadership. There has been more reciprocity between the Japanese and the whites than between the Chinese and the whites, because the Chinese immigrants have been less advanced culturally than the Japanese and have developed fewer independent churches and other social organizations which could serve as foci of intercourse and coöperation between the two races.

The Christian organizations, both Oriental and white, appear to have been more active than any other agencies in promoting understanding and friendliness among adults of the first-generation immigrants, but the public schools have probably been preëminent in fostering good relations between the younger generation of both races. In saying this, however, let it be emphasized that no disparagement is intended of the generous efforts in the same direction made by numerous civic and commercial bodies and by a few public-spirited newspaper proprietors.

The distinction just drawn between adults and the younger generation is fundamental in any review of Oriental-white relations. The reasons are obvious: the original immigrants—the first generation—of both Chinese and Japanese were predominantly of the laboring class. Their ruling desire was to earn a competence and to return to their own land. The majority of them made little effort to learn English or Western ways of life. An enterprising minority, particularly of the Japanese, bestirred themselves to learn the language and the customs of the country, and aspired to fit themselves for an indefinite stay. One of the reflexes from the outburst of anti-Japanese sentiment in California twenty years ago was that the Japanese settlers were stimulated to make more energetic efforts to accommodate

themselves to American life and to seek ways of coöperation with the schools, churches, and business organizations; but even during the more recent period, the first-generation Orientals have remained comparatively passive recipients and the Americans have continued to take the aggressive in efforts toward Oriental-white goodwill and coöperation. This is to be expected, because the Americans are hosts and the Orientals are guests; or, as unfriendly Americans would say, "We are masters in our own house and they are intruders."

The heavy handicaps which efforts after inter-racial goodwill and coöperation must overcome have been set forth in the first section of this paper. To a social philosopher looking at the situation from without, these handicaps would appear insuperable. In fact, they have so proved. So long as these rigid and all-inclusive legal, economic, and political barriers to confidence and reciprocity remain, the most heroic and altruistic endeavors after friendly relations among individuals and groups will be only palliatives. But are not palliatives worth administering, if a cure seems for the time being out of reach? Most emphatically, yes, for two reasons: (1) The Christian conscience can never sit idle in face of an unchristian situation. (2) Without the corrective influence of palliative efforts the friction and distrust would very likely have become so much worse that an ultimate cure would be made increasingly difficult.

The lessons to be drawn from the entire situation for the future policy of Christian agencies will be stated after some account has been given of the varied efforts made to foster goodwill and coöperation.

The student of relations between Orientals and whites on the Pacific Coast of North American cannot help being struck by the number of Christian organizations which are attempting to mediate between the races. It is safe to say that the activities of the churches and Christian associations in this direction far exceed the activities of any other type of agency concerned with the promotion of inter-racial

understanding. A description and appraisal of the activities of these organizations will now be given.

Commission on International Justice and Goodwill

The Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is the chief national agency promoting goodwill between Americans and Orientals. It was organized in 1914 in face of the anti-Japanese agitation and legislation in California. It has sent ambassadors to the Orient; it has made studies of the racial situation on the Pacific Coast, and has published one volume by Professor H. A. Millis, *The Japanese Problem in the United States*, and several volumes and pamphlets by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick. It was chiefly instrumental in persuading representatives of Japanese labor to attend the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1915. It enrolled 2,000 citizens in a National Committee on American-Japanese Relations. In 1927 it sent some 12,000 doll-ambassadors of goodwill to Japanese school children. They made a profound impression on the sensibilities of the Japanese, from the highest to the lowest, and led to a return embassy of fifty-eight exquisite Japanese dolls, which were paid for by the gift of public school children in all parts of the Empire. The churches affiliated with the Federal Council have looked, in large measure, to this Commission for information and guidance in reference to Oriental race relations. Through pronouncements in the press and memorials to Congress it has exerted considerable influence on public opinion and, presumably, has tempered governmental action. The principle of the quota as applied to the regulation of all immigration was first clearly formulated by Dr. Gulick, but while this principle has been embodied in the recent national immigration acts, all Orientals have been excluded from its scope. This refusal of Congress to apply the quota to Orientals suggests the question, Why is it that the widespread and persistent agitation carried on by this Commission and its affiliated groups has not had more influence in moulding either na-

tional or state policy in the United States with reference to immigration from Japan and China? In addition to the exigencies of national and local politics, one of the reasons for this fact is the resentment of Californians against the "invasion" of "State rights" by either the Federal Government or a private organization "led by Easterners who don't know what we are up against." Not a few Americans on the Pacific Coast are fond of asserting that the activities of the Commission have done more harm than good because they have solidified and kept alive the opposition. A well-informed Japanese who is sympathetic with the Commission makes the following analysis:

"While I have no means of measuring the results of the splendid effort being exerted by the Federal Council, Dr. Gulick's committee must be one of the liveliest organizations in America to-day which are working toward the better understanding between our two countries. For instance, the doll-messengers of friendship which Dr. Gulick sponsored and which received a wonderful welcome in Japan appear to me as a master stroke. It aroused interest among Americans toward Japan as well as among Japanese toward America. Various other works which the same committee is doing in coöperation with the churches and other organizations are also highly commendable.

"On the other hand, I feel that the Federal Council has not so far contributed very much toward alleviating the unfortunate result of the immigration law. It is rather strange that it has not succeeded in arousing church men and women in this country on the subject to such an extent that the immigration law possibly could be amended. There must be something in the method employed which is preventing that result. Or it may be that the very movement is arousing further antagonism among anti-Japanese groups. At any rate, while Japanese do appreciate the Federal Council's work, in this respect many feel it is not accomplishing the result."

A Chinese worker among students writes:

"Though the work of the Federal Council of Churches

Commission on International Justice is not widely known to Chinese students, it has the respect of those who have seen its publications."

A number of sympathetic Americans have held that the Commission would have done far more good and made more progress toward putting Japanese on the quota basis or in some other way revising the discrimination against them if it had, from the beginning, used purely educational methods, by presenting all the relevant facts and alternative methods of solving inter-racial problems instead of by advocating specific measures. It has of late relied more largely on educational methods. Whatever the deficiencies of the Commission in strategy may have been, it has played an heroic and resourceful part in arousing the conscience of American Christians to their obligations toward the Orientals in their midst.

Activities of Local White Churches

Local white churches have affected Oriental-white relations in two ways, first, by special Sunday schools and classes in English for Chinese and Japanese, and secondly, by including the Orientals in their ordinary services and activities. Sunday schools for Chinese have been organized not only on the Pacific Coast but also in all parts of the United States and Canada where Chinese have settled. These schools have enlisted the devoted service of large numbers of teachers, particularly women. For various reasons Sunday schools have not been organized to the same degree for Japanese immigrants. Probably the chief reason has been the greater independence of the Japanese and the presence of educated members of their own race who have conducted religious instruction and worship in their own language. Notwithstanding the vast amount of self-sacrificing effort expended upon the Sunday schools and chapels for Chinese and other Orientals by local white churches, it is agreed by some well-informed observers that these efforts have not achieved corresponding results, and in some measure have been a drawback to the Christian cause and to inter-racial

understanding. To this effect are the following opinions. The first is by the Reverend George W. Hinman, who is one of the most experienced and judicial Christian workers among Orientals:

"Unfortunately, the work of local churches among Orientals has in most cases been characterized more by zeal and consecration than by good judgment and missionary technique. A very large amount of splendid service has been given, and there have been notable results in the stimulation of individual Orientals toward Christian character and achievement. But the encouragement of dependence and the maintenance of a patronizing attitude toward the Oriental have very considerably discounted the value of the work. The relations between Orientals and whites have hardly been improved at all, in any proper sense, by the work of the local Chinese Sunday schools. The workers have lacked social vision, offering religious instruction when economic and social opportunity were denied, and they have themselves failed to adopt a true and brotherly relation to the Orientals even when most self-sacrificing in this service. It is a tragedy that after fifty years of devoted Christian service in every large center of Oriental population west of the Mississippi there is no real cultural fellowship between the mass of the Orientals and the white communities in any place. The Oriental groups are more distinct than any other racial groups in America. The white local churches working without direction and without themselves undertaking any real study of race relations have signally failed to promote understanding and goodwill between their communities and the Orientals. It takes something more than piety."

A woman who has given many years to work on behalf of the Chinese in California writes:

"There is some question in my mind as to the advisability of religious institutions' maintaining free evening schools for foreigners. The public schools of our great cities are so well equipped and offer so many excellent courses under skilled instructors that I question the advisability of mission

or church schools' attempting to compete with them. When mission evening schools were first started there was a great need for them, and during the years they have filled a large and important place in the Christianizing of foreigners. They are still needed and of value in communities where the public schools do not offer evening courses, but in those of our great cities where the public schools now offer extensive evening instruction the mission schools might well be discontinued and the energy and funds of the church diverted into other channels.

"The problem of the Chinese in our midst is vastly different to-day from that of ten or twenty years ago. No longer do we have a substantial immigration to our country every year. Those who have been here for a considerable length of time have raised families who are educated in American ways, language, and customs and are not dependent upon us for language assistance. The center of activity seems to be shifting from the mission evening school to the Sunday Bible school and service. It is here that most of the Christian contact work is being done in large communities."

A Christian Chinese leader makes the following observations: "Perhaps the Chinese church in New York City will be able to evolve some kind of arrangement so that the Chinese Sunday schools in New York and neighborhood will be harmonized. Some form of organization has already been established to this end." One church in Los Angeles makes inter-racial relations its chief business. It is the Church of All Nations, of which a university professor has said: "That church and its pastor have done more for inter-racial understanding than anything else in the city."

There are other methods than the special Sunday schools and classes for Orientals which, on the whole, seem to have excellent results and have aroused no such criticism as has been quoted above. A few of these methods will be described.

Several of the local white churches and the national home mission boards have organized corps of visitors to call on the wives and children of Orientals and to introduce them into American homes. The Baptist Women's Home Mis-

sionary Society has enlisted 700 American women as unpaid friendly visitors, each of whom promises to call regularly on one or more Oriental women. The field supervisor of this enterprise writes:

"While many nationalities are reached, the two most numerous in this State are our Mexican and Japanese neighbors. We find the Japanese women very shy and retiring, but when they are once assured of the sincerity of the American caller, a genuine and mutually admiring friendship is the usual result. In most cases, also, we find the Japanese women are the most desirous, as well as the most patient and persistent in study of the new and difficult language. Some of the young Chinese women show the same application, though in almost all cases the aptitude is largely measured by the 'background of culture' of the individual.

"It has been truly amazing to see the progress of even mature women, illiterate in their own language, under the friendly and personal guidance of their 'teacher.' But the progress of the teacher, in seeing the problems and viewpoint of the 'other fellow,' is perhaps more amazing, and in the long look ahead, more beneficial.

"As it would readily be surmised, the greatest hindrance to this whole program is social, though legislative and economic factors in general play a pronounced part. But the all-too-common attitude, that the American is 'superior to any one in the whole world,' is possessed, unconsciously or otherwise, by the most ardent advocate of Christian brotherhood. It is a real delight, therefore, to watch the 'change of heart' as friendship progresses. One volunteer spoke as many have, when she said in hurt amazement, 'Why I never think of her as Japanese, she's just one of my most charming and loved friends!'"

Over against this optimistic statement must be recorded the fact that many discerning Orientals have criticized this well-meaning visitation as "savoring of patronage and intrusion." Evidently, a friendly spirit alone is not a sufficient qualification. Restraint and exquisite tact are indispensable.

An interchange of visits between groups in Oriental and white churches has been particularly fostered in southern California. Music often proves a bond of union. One worker writes: "The Japanese girls are often asked to sing for young people's meetings and club programs in the white churches, and I take them often in Japanese costume. They sing Japanese as well as English songs. Last spring our girls joined with vocal and instrumental trios from two white churches in giving a very lovely concert at each of the three churches."

Music was also used with splendid effect at a "world brotherhood concert," which preceded an address by Dr. Magill, Secretary of the International Council of Religious Education. Eight choirs participated from as many different racial groups, among which were Orientals. As one American has expressed it: "Music and worship alike seem peculiarly effective in swallowing up racial differences." The greatest care is required to avoid giving the Oriental participants in such occasions reason to think that they are being exploited to satisfy the curiosity of white audiences.

Another plan has been for Oriental and white young people to alternate in leading one another's Sunday evening meetings. This, however, has proved practicable only in the case of Orientals born in America. Two Christian workers in California speak of the value of joint discussions between representatives of the races. A Chinese pastor writes: "The attitude between Chinese and American young people here is very friendly. This is due to the fact that we frequently meet together and have open-hearted discussion, and next in importance are the social gatherings which we hold together." A church secretary for work among Orientals says: "In my judgment nothing has been so successful as the association of Chinese and Japanese Christian Endeavor Societies with the white societies in regional unions. While this applies only to a few groups, it has had singular success." Athletic events and indoor tournaments arranged between teams from white and Oriental churches have developed a fraternal spirit.

Some of the drastic criticisms regarding the inter-racial efforts of local white churches and allied agencies should be presented. The first is by an American who has resided in both the Orient and in California and has made a close and sympathetic study of the situation:

"Racial equality and justice have long been advocated by these organizations, but they have not actually practised equality. This may be seen in the refusal of churches, Y. M. C. A's, and Y. W. C. A's to grant membership to Orientals. Denominational churches have Oriental branches, Y. M. C. A's and Y. W. C. A's have been organized for them, but they are not welcomed, as a rule, into the mother organizations. This gives rise to the Oriental saying that American professions of goodwill are largely 'lip service,' and that they do not practise what they preach. This 'falseness' in the program of the Christian churches has gnawed like a canker at the heart of the Church and has very greatly hindered her advocacy of racial equality. It seems to me we should either stop advocating racial equality or else begin to practise it. The superior attitude which the church assumes to all Orientals is a most distressing feature of the present situation. Until we are ready to treat them in reality as equals, our advocacy of racial equality is futile."

A Christian layman prominent in inter-racial affairs writes:

"The churches, Y. M. C. A. organizations, Y. W. C. A. organizations, Oriental missions, and other racial organizations must gradually open their doors to all who profess their principles, without regard to race, nationality, or other class distinctions. The narrowness and intolerance of attitude of professing Christians because of race, nationality, or class is doing more to retard the growth of Christian principles in the community than perhaps any other single factor. The community will not much longer tolerate and give effective support to professed Christian institutions whether they be churches, Y. M. C. A's, Y. W. C. A's, white or colored, native or foreign, which bar from their

fellowship any Christian because of race, color, or degree of wealth or any similar accident."

A partial rejoinder to these strictures is made by an equally eminent American authority who says, in effect:

"This is largely a theoretical demand for race equality. First-generation Orientals prefer and need to have separate churches, because they cannot speak English freely. The American-born Orientals who do understand English and enjoy being with white people should, of course, be welcomed freely in all our churches. Until most of the individuals in a foreign group develop to a high degree of appreciation of American ways of thought and life it is psychologically impossible for the foreign and American group to have satisfactory, natural fellowship. The racial church, even though anomalous, has proved to be more effective for inter-racial understanding than the premature mixing of races in one church. Until there is psychological kinship, mechanical inclusion in one church is artificial and is apt only to make the members of both races uncomfortable."

A Chinese who has an unusually wide acquaintance throughout North America writes:

"Individual churches have not had the vision of fostering friendship between the two nations through the students. Even in college communities, the denominational note sounds more prominent than the note of harmony. In places such as the University of Michigan and the University of Illinois, more has been done for foreign students than in other places, yet the different churches produce the impression that each church is competing with other churches for the glory of winning foreign students."

A woman who has had contacts with Orientals in all parts of North America and in the Orient itself writes:

"Oriental students have sometimes told me that they did not feel at home in the churches they attended because they were made to feel that they were different from the other young people. The difference was sometimes indicated by over-cordiality, and sometimes by treatment of them as

curious folk of quite another clay than the American young people."

Activities of Local Oriental Churches

Local Oriental churches have played an increasingly effective part in promoting understanding and goodwill. They have generally waited, however, for white Christians to take the initiative, partly, no doubt, because of inherent reticence and fear that advances might be resented, partly because of the linguistic barrier, and partly because their church equipment is generally inferior to that of white churches, so that they cannot exchange courtesies on a parity. There have been, however, several notable instances of aggressive leadership by Orientals in promoting interracial coöperation and community welfare. One such instance is found in the city of Fresno, where a Japanese pastor has been instrumental in suppressing Chinese gamblers who were mulcting both Chinese and white patrons. Another instance is in Honolulu, where a Japanese pastor has been a mediator between Japanese settlers and whites as well as a leader in joint civic, religious, and educational enterprises. The beneficent influence of certain strong Japanese churches is illustrated by this statement penned by an American missionary administrator:

"The Japanese Union Church in Los Angeles is a notable example of successful adjustment with the American community. In spite of sporadic instances of anti-Japanese feeling in Los Angeles, there has been on the whole a very cordial feeling between the better-class Americans in that city and the Japanese. The Union Church was definitely a joint enterprise of the Japanese and the American Congregationalists and Presbyterians. The Japanese took a very heavy share in the cost of the enterprise, sufficient to maintain their self-respect as a major partner in the undertaking. Then, the Church had fine leadership, especially that of the Reverend K. Ogawa, who was unusually adjusted to the American as well as the Japanese life. Under his leadership, the whole trend of the church life was towards

fellowship with the American churches. Both the Congregational Association of Los Angeles and the Presbytery were invited at different times to hold their sessions in the Japanese Church, and dinner was provided for all the delegates. The Japanese Church developed so definitely its own church life with a large group of efficient laymen that finally one of those Japanese laymen was appointed on the Board of Directors of the Southern California Congregational Conference."

In several cities the summer vacation church schools have been conducted for various races together. In Pasadena, for example, not only Japanese and whites but also Negroes were harmoniously included in one school which was organized jointly by Negro and Japanese churches, with the collaboration of white workers.

The white churches on the Pacific Coast nearly all profess to be willing to receive Orientals into their membership, but as a Japanese lawyer said, "They make no special efforts to make us feel at home. They are passive rather than active, except that they often give generously for the erection of Oriental churches in the same city." Another Japanese layman added this discriminating comment: "It is better to maintain separate churches, if that is the only way to draw Japanese of the first generation into the church, but when it comes to the American-born Japanese, they are so Americanized in language and feeling that I hope the American churches and Christian Associations can do much more to draw them in." The prospect of progress in this direction has recently been slightly dimmed by the radio announcement made by the pastor of a prominent white church in Los Angeles that the Christmas exercises of their Sunday school would hereafter be limited to white children.

While the financial aid of white Christians for church buildings has been deeply appreciated by the Japanese, they have been deeply pained by the bitter opposition of white residents in certain cities to the erection of Japanese churches in their neighborhood. The Orientals believe that if local

white Christians would combine and exert themselves they could easily overcome such opposition.

The Oriental missions supported in large measure by white Christians have been one of the most active factors in fostering inter-racial understanding. These missions should be clearly differentiated from the Sunday schools and evening classes conducted by local white churches to which reference has already been made. The Oriental missions have generally been supervised by men and women who have had missionary experience in the Orient. The range of activities has been varied and the predominant control of the local work has generally been entrusted to Orientals. Both the virtues and the failings of these missions are pointed out by the following quotations. A forceful statement of their good points is made by Dr. Hinman. He also pays tribute to the autonomous Oriental churches which have often sprung out of the missions. He writes:

"The church missions under board direction, preferably supervised by men of missionary experience in the Orient, have been, I believe, and will continue to be the most effective agency for establishing right relations between the mass of the white people and the Oriental immigrants, and through them with Orientals generally, because these missions aim definitely to develop a normal Christian community of Orientals which will be a visible demonstration of the possibility of inter-racial goodwill. Having first-hand knowledge of the facts of Oriental life in the United States and of conditions in the homelands of the Orientals, and an understanding of Oriental thought, with the ability to transcend Oriental and white psychology by a common faith, the American missionary is the best interpreter between Oriental and American, and the best builder of understanding and goodwill among the common people of both races with whom he works.

"There is plenty of evidence that the Oriental mission work of the church boards is efficient for the promotion of right relations between Orientals and whites as well as for the evangelization of Orientals in the United States. Where

self-dependent Oriental churches have been established in the United States with a trained Oriental ministry and an adequate base in the community, as in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast, and to a limited extent in the Rocky Mountain area, the relations between whites and Orientals are rapidly approaching the ideal.

"The Oriental ministers and laymen who have had their religious development in such normally-functioning community-minded Oriental churches in the United States are, many of them, now working in China and Japan as the best 'middlemen' between the Orient and the United States. If every Sunday school or mission for Orientals in the United States could be developed into a normal self-dependent family church, with economic opportunity and social recognition on the basis of its cultural attainments, and with internationally-minded missionaries as liaison officers to the American churches, the problem of right relations between whites and Orientals would be rapidly solved."

Persons who know both Chinese and Japanese missions assert that the latter have been less disfigured by denominational rivalry and paternalism. A decidedly unfavorable opinion of the Chinese missions is expressed by a Chinese Christian leader who has visited all parts of the United States and Canada:

"The Oriental missions on the Pacific Coast have been conducted along strictly denominational lines. They serve to divide the small Chinese populations. In not a few places the spirit of rivalry and even hostility has been aroused among the different missions. Two years ago, the young people in San Francisco wanted the missions to unite. Their definite proposal was vetoed by the missions and consequently the young people got together themselves in defiance of the older missionaries and Chinese leaders."

Dr. Hinman confirms the basic points in this charge in his booklet, *Community Responsibility for Oriental Immigrants*, published in 1924:

"Separate night schools and day schools and kinder-

gartens and Chinese-language schools must be maintained to recruit the denominational Sunday schools and churches. 'Some other mission will get our children' if we do not duplicate every attraction that is offered by another denomination. And when members are received into the Chinese churches these churches are so hampered in their control of their buildings and activities by the paternalism of the mission boards that they develop little initiative even when their leaders do get together to consider common interests."

Dr. Mears added in June, 1927: "The Japanese second-generation members of ten churches of six different denominations in the neighboring cities of Oakland, Berkeley, and Alameda are giving active consideration to the desirability of a single union church."

Recently a participant has remarked that in San Francisco it was the older Chinese Christians more than the sectarianism of the American mission boards that blocked efforts toward union.

Christian Associations

We turn now to consider the work of the Christian Associations. The Young Men's Christian Associations cannot be treated as a whole, since each local Association is autonomous but, speaking broadly, the Student Associations have been more cordial and coöperative toward Orientals than the City Associations. Nevertheless, secretaries in several cities, notably Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Vancouver, occupy positions of leadership in fostering right relations with Orientals. The local boards of directors in City Associations are frequently more liberal than the rank and file of the membership, but when the issue of admitting Orientals on an equality to membership, and especially to the use of the gymnasium and swimming pool, is raised they declare that they must choose between accommodating a limited number of Orientals and causing the withdrawal of a large number of white members. They have, therefore, found a solution either by establishing Oriental branches or

by admitting English-speaking Orientals to full privileges with the exception of the swimming pool and, in some places, the gymnasium. In Los Angeles, groups of Orientals as well as of Negroes are allowed to use the general Y. M. C. A. buildings only when they come as groups. One successful plan for bringing about intercourse and coöperation between white and Oriental boys has been to include Oriental youths with whites in camps and retreats. Mr. George Gleason, President of the Council on International Relations and a Secretary of the Los Angeles Y. M. C. A., writes:

"At the southern California Hi-Y Training Camp for high school boys attended by 120 boys, held in the mountains near Los Angeles, a very striking incident occurred.

"It is the custom to elect five officers to direct the activities of the five-day camp. As the boys present are selected from the Christian groups in the various high schools of southern California, it is a mark of distinction to be chosen as one of the officers. At this camp fifteen per cent. of the boys were Negroes and Japanese. So friendly was the racial attitude of the white boys that of the five officers elected two were Japanese and one was a colored lad. White boys on reporting the conference have mentioned with pride this fact, showing their heartfelt courtesy toward the boys of other races."

The Hi-Y groups which are generally fostered by the City Y. M. C. A's have almost everywhere been conducted without racial discrimination. A lawyer intimately acquainted with Orientals in California writes:

"Remarkable programs have been given by the 'Hi-Y' organizations of our community. These meetings and programs have brought together on the same platform Oriental, white, and colored young people both native and foreign-born in common Christian programs expressing tolerance and equal economic opportunity for all the races of the earth under the program of Jesus Christ."

Perhaps no city in the United States has had to face greater difficulties in Oriental-white relations than San

Francisco. The following account of the policy of the Young Men's Christian Association in that city, written by the general secretary, Dr. Richard R. Perkins, is therefore of unusual interest:

"For sixteen years the San Francisco Y. M. C. A. has had a Chinese branch and has just completed one year of operation in a splendid four-story modern building located in the midst of Chinatown.

"For eight years we have had a Japanese branch with an inadequate plant, situated in the Japanese district. Next year this plant is to be replaced by a modern one.

"These branches have an Oriental staff and are managed by an Oriental Committee of Management, in the same branch relationship to the San Francisco Y. M. C. A. as are all our American branches.

"Trained physical directors are supplemented in their work by volunteer leaders who are given regular training for their work. These leaders, with appropriate committees of volunteers, conduct gymnastic, indoor and outdoor games, competing regularly with Americans as well as among themselves. Competitive games are held in other branch Y. M. C. A's, in church gymnasia, and on public playgrounds. An occasional inter-department or inter-race track-meet is held.

"The inter-race competition is very successful. Unfortunate incidents due to race prejudice are almost totally lacking. There is probably some comment by spectators and American participants on the matter of race, but while our ears are most alert to hear it we can report no such comment outside of one incident. This incident was an unfortunate remark by an American volunteer church-club coach. The games were under Y. M. C. A. direction. We promptly and vigorously 'called' the offender and he accepted the rebuke.

"The San Francisco Y. M. C. A. 110-pound basketball players won the Pacific Athletic Association championship this year. One active member of the team of eight or ten boys was a Japanese. This seems to have been a matter for favorable comment rather than otherwise.

"It would be impossible to have Orientals attend the American branches. This is what we all desired. It is done in other American cities outside of California without difficulty. Numbers seem to precipitate problems. We constantly test it out as a matter of social experimentation. A few on the gymnasium floor do not seem to create difficulty. A large number immediately changes the situation. Even one in the swimming pool brings resignations from American members. We have opened our Central Branch plunge late evenings and also Saturday mornings to Japanese. Where there is overlapping of American and Japanese groups there is grumbling.

"We also permit Japanese and Chinese occasionally to live temporarily in our dormitory section. This does not cause comment. We have never tried it in large numbers. Incidentally, we find that the Japanese do not care to have Chinese living in their building, and vice versa. Of course, other than racial grounds are responsible for this.

"You may be interested to note that on occasions, perhaps annually, inter-branch social events are held, each branch furnishing some part of the entertainment and all joining in common games or sitting about listening to social recreational features. These affairs are quite lacking in unfortunate features either by way of remark or other noticeable attitude. The Oriental 'stunts' are invariably more enthusiastically cheered than any others. We notice the same thing in the reports of the Oriental teams in financial campaigns.

"The attitude of the Y. M. C. A. is that of meeting the recreational needs in whatever way they have to be met, and of trying out popular sentiment with regard to the two races doing things together.

"A few Oriental boys go to our Boys' Camp. They are assimilated, perhaps one to a tent, among the other boys. . . . They are more than welcome, since their athletic ability makes them quite desirable in the inter-tent competition."[1]

[1] Mears, E. G., *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast*, New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1927, pp. 377–9.

The International Institute of the Young Women's Christian Association has been that Association's chief agency for bringing about friendly relations with Orientals. It is well spoken of, particularly for its service to the recently-arrived Orientals. The International Institute in Los Angeles enrolls a large number of foreign-born girls with white girls in the summer camp and it also arranges social events in which the hostesses are sometimes Orientals and sometimes Americans. The work with "teen age" girls, carried on through the Girl Reserve Department, has included Oriental girls with Americans. At the swimming pool of the Young Women's Christian Association in Los Angeles, Oriental girls and women are admitted without restriction. The local Japanese Young Women's Christian Association is correlated with the work of the International Institute by means of a joint committee of Japanese and American women which meets alternately at the homes of the American and Japanese members.

Both the men's and the women's Student Christian Associations on the Pacific Coast have rendered notable service in fostering fellowship and understanding between Orientals and whites. At the same time, it is unfortunately true that the same white students who, with apparent sincerity, proclaim the brotherhood of all races at conferences are sometimes guilty of ignoring their Oriental fellow students on their home campuses. The most aggressive and successful efforts for Oriental students in all parts of the United States and Canada have been made through the two Committees on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students which, for many years, have been special departments of the national men's and women's Student Christian Movement. These Committees have often been able to look after groups of Oriental students from the time they left their native town until they were satisfactorily established in their new homes in America. They have coöperated with national as well as local church bodies and with city and Student Christian Associations to bring about friendly intercourse between the races, and have aided large numbers

of Oriental students to attend the student Christian conferences.

The men's Committee on Friendly Relations has led to the formation of autonomous Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Student Christian Associations composed of Orientals studying in North America. These Associations have not only promoted international understanding while their members were studying abroad but have sent many of their members back to their native land as interpreters of the best elements of the West and as ambassadors of inter-racial coöperation. They have coöperated with many whites who were willing to invite Orientals to their homes, a service that arouses the liveliest appreciation. They have circulated among Westerners magazines and pamphlets dealing with the work of these Associations and with Japanese and Chinese culture. They have also helped to arouse American friends to the obligation resting upon them to do more on behalf of the second-generation Orientals who, while American citizens by birth, are often held at arm's length.

The local Student Christian Associations in many colleges have exerted themselves on behalf of the Oriental students in their number. In addition to forming inter-racial groups for discussion and study they arrange social gatherings where students and faculty members and local residents come to appreciate the individual worth of their Oriental guests. One of the most important services is the securing of proper living quarters for Oriental students, for the reason that many landladies in Pacific Coast towns refuse to accommodate Orientals.

The Student Christian Movement conferences have been a powerful factor in promoting understanding between Oriental and white students. Several special conferences have been arranged on the Pacific Coast to deal specifically with inter-racial problems and in every case the fearless and sympathetic facing of the facts, together with the enveloping atmosphere of friendliness, have brought good results. A Japanese student was elected president of the summer conference at Seabeck, Washington, in 1925, and Mr.

Charles D. Hurrey has testified that he "won golden opinions from all nationalities."

So far as the author can learn, the inter-racial student conferences on the Pacific Coast have been held in schools or conference plants, not in the cities, where the prevalent discrimination against Orientals in hotels and restaurants would have to be faced. It remained for the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, in preparation for its quadrennial convention at Detroit, to procure from the local Hotel Managers' Association a promise that no discrimination whatever should be shown toward colored delegates, whether black or brown. Furthermore, delegations from the southern States applied the same principle by having white and black students travel in the same sleeping cars.

That even the student conferences, however, have their shortcomings is evident from these criticisms by a Japanese Christian leader:

"While the attitude of students at these conferences is very fine toward Japanese students, there is a somewhat artificial element in the conference atmosphere. My observations during the past year convince me that while the delegates talk about brotherhood and peaceful relations on the conference grounds, the environment is not receptive when they go back to the campus and the idea seldom grows into fruitful results. In this connection, Japanese delegates very often point out the inconsistencies of American life, namely, that what they hear and feel on the conference grounds is not true elsewhere—on the campus or in the city life. This is more so on the Pacific Coast.

"Japanese students, however, find these conferences very profitable in getting in touch with the leaders of the Student Christian Movement and also with leaders of foreign groups of students."

A discerning American critic observes that the standards held up at the conferences of the Student Christian Associations "do not appear to affect very strongly the opinions of the bulk of the people, and it sometimes seems as if they

did not care to try for that result. I have noticed a disaffection toward this academic attitude equally among anti-Oriental agitators and missionaries of inter-racial brotherhood. Nevertheless, the standards set up by the Student Christian Associations and other agencies do eventually leaven public attitudes, because there are always men and women willing to be propagandists as well as students of truth. The permanent success of these efforts for promotion of right relations between Orientals and whites depends upon the number of those in the organizations who will accept responsibility to crusade among the great masses of the people for understanding and goodwill. I have noticed that it is the Chinese and Japanese students rather than the American students who are going out from our colleges in extensive campaigns of public addresses. They are willing to sacrifice their academic pride to plead for their people, as many of our university men will not. We ought to be defending them instead of making them defend themselves."

A leader of Christian work among Chinese students in North America points out why many of the more advanced and independent students do not feel attracted to the regular student conferences:

"The Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. summer conferences used to attract a large number of Chinese students. In fact, these conferences had a great deal to do with the beginnings of the Chinese student organizations in America. For a number of reasons Chinese students no longer attend these conferences in large numbers. Two chief reasons may be stated here: first, a growing number of graduate students do not find the programs of these conferences sufficiently advanced or interesting; secondly, the so-called leaders at these conferences have usually been selected from the stereotyped class of people. The Student Volunteer Movement conventions attract only a few of the students who are supported by the missions. The local S. V. M. bands do not usually make contacts with Chinese students, while the convention program is usually out of date as far as the Chinese students are concerned."

He goes on to say that a special conference between progressive missionary leaders and Oriental students which was held at Princeton was more successful: "It showed that a small conference can at least engender fellowship among delegates. It failed in that it professed to be a conference of the delegates, and yet it was run in a more or less bureaucratic way."

Pilgrimages to the Orient by groups of American and Japanese students and from the Orient by groups of Japanese students have been fostered by the Student Christian Associations and also by missionary workers among Orientals. The results have been extremely gratifying. A similar pilgrimage of some 120 Japanese middle-school students was brought to the American Pacific Coast through the personal efforts of a member of the Japanese Diet. The boys were everywhere so generously received in American homes and by American educational and religious organizations that they were deeply touched, and the appreciative letters they sent home were widely published in the Japanese press. Somewhat similar impressions were made on the group of American students who visited Japan in 1924, under the leadership of President Coleman of Reed College. One of the members of the party has written:

"The culture and breadth of information of the student class was rather startling to our party. Naturally this opened our eyes to the importance of good relations with these people. All of us gained a new respect for the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and missions. In many instances we had occasion to learn that outstanding leaders had the beginning of their inspiration in mission efforts.

"In this time of stress and strain in Oriental affairs, all of us were impressed by the fact that there might be and actually was considerable opposition to Western church machinery. We could find no opposition to the real program of Christ. The Chinese in particular seemed imbued with the necessity of developing an indigenous church and were anxious to throw off Western machinery. On frequent occasions we found question as to why there should be so

many varieties of Protestant Christians. Undoubtedly there will develop in a big way the movement toward an indigenous church following the real principles of Jesus.

"Despite the fact that the Japanese were smarting under the feeling of hurt because of our immigration law, we were impressed by their generous courtesy, hospitality, and kindly treatment.

"I think if I should attempt to summarize the whole trip in a sentence it would be this: All of us came away with the feeling of the absolute necessity of coöperation for the material saving of the whole. Furthermore, we felt that nothing less than the actual application of the Christian program could finally save the situation."

A unique party of students went from seven California colleges to Japan during the summer of 1927, under the leadership of the Reverend Paul B. Waterhouse, of the Congregational Church, and Secretary Shimizu of the Japanese Department of the Los Angeles Young Men's Christian Association. Eight white students and six American-born Japanese composed the party. The general expenses were contributed for the most part by eight white churches in southern California. The effects of the experience on the members of the party and also on large numbers of people in Japan appear to have been profound. Since their return each member of the party has spoken to numerous gatherings about their experiences.

In July of 1928 the World Sunday School Convention will be held in Los Angeles. Already American Sunday-school and church officials are making ambitious efforts to bring a large number of Japanese and other Orientals to the convention and to make their presence an occasion for furthering inter-racial friendliness.[1]

The influence of the foreign missionary movement of the churches of the United States and Canada on goodwill and coöperation between Orientals and whites on the Pacific

[1] The actual attendance at the Convention included 502 foreigners of whom fifty-three were from China; 193 from Japan; eleven from the Philippines; and twenty-one from India.

Coast calls for special mention, although it is not specifically directed toward bettering race relations in that area. The missionary enterprise has doubtless done more than any other one movement to create an atmosphere favorable to right relations between the Orient and the Occident and to neutralize the unfortunate effects of social and legislative discrimination against Orientals by Occidentals. On the other hand, not a few Orientals feel that the mission boards have in certain respects been derelict or positively offensive in their attitude toward Orientals. A frank expression of this conviction is contained in a statement by a Chinese Christian layman who is himself in large measure the product of a missionary college and is glad to acknowledge his indebtedness to it. In the judgment of the editor, he fails to do justice to the hospitality and friendly activities of mission board representatives, doubtless because he was trying at the moment only to point out defects.

"Since, as far as the Chinese students are concerned, a great deal of irritation has been produced by certain actions and attitudes on the part of the mission boards and the churches, I am putting down the following details: (1) These institutions have not honestly faced the criticisms and doubts of the students. It seems to us that they purposely evade confronting the students in conferences and public gatherings. Even Christian Chinese students have not been invited to take active parts in the discussion of missions. These boards and churches usually choose those students to represent China who they know will speak what they want them to say. Moreover, most boards and churches hold the attitude of paternalism. The ——— denomination is perhaps the most heartily hated by the great majority of Chinese students. Recent utterances of Bishop ——— will probably set back the progress of that denomination in China a large number of years. (2) Lack of interest in student organizations. The mission boards and the churches never undertook to assist the Chinese students in America. The ——— Church used to employ a Chinese secretary to look after only those Chinese students

who were sent over here by their mission in China. Recently, the influence of students appears to be on the ascendancy in Chinese affairs; so the mission boards, through the Committee of Reference and Counsel, have made a number of motions to do some service to Chinese students in America."

IV. ACTIVITIES BY SECULAR AGENCIES

During recent years movements have sprung up for the promotion of inter-racial understanding and coöperation which have no official relation with the churches, but many of which were initiated and are still led by persons who draw their inspiration from their Christian faith. The activities of some of these agencies will be briefly characterized.

Council of International Relations

The Council of International Relations was formed by a large number of organizations in southern California in order to serve as their central organ for promoting international and inter-racial intelligence and goodwill. It has sponsored conferences and has arranged for speakers both Western and Oriental to address many organizations. One of the local international clubs has arranged for the various national groups in its membership to give public entertainments reflecting the cultures of their motherland. This plan, it may be said, has been successfully operated also by the City Y. M. C. A's in San Francisco, Chicago, and elsewhere.

Cosmopolitan and International Clubs

The cosmopolitan and international clubs in the various colleges have drawn together students of all races for social intercourse and the exchange of opinions and information. Unfortunately, a number of these clubs have, by becoming secret and exclusive societies, limited their usefulness. In southern California there is a federation of cosmopolitan clubs which has sent out deputations composed of foreign students to speak in colleges and before women's clubs.

World Friendship Clubs

World Friendship Clubs have rapidly spread among the high schools of the Pacific Coast. They have stimulated correspondence between school children of America and foreign lands and in other ways have cultivated among their members an appreciation of their Oriental and other foreign neighbors.

International Houses

An International House, where students from various countries live together, such as that already established in New York, has just been made possible at the University of California by a large gift from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Both students and faculty members bear emphatic testimony to the value of the house in New York. It might fitly be called an inter-racial "interpreter's house." No intimate study of it has been attempted for this paper, but we shall reproduce a few criticisms and the comment on each by Mr. Harry E. Edmonds, who has from the beginning been the director of International House in New York.

It is thought by some outsiders that Christian religious activities in the House are discouraged, and a Chinese graduate student who has not lived in the House writes: "The House has at least staged one or two public meetings in which students who are antagonistic toward the Christian Church and Christian missions are invited to speak fully and freely, while as far as I know, no opportunity has been given to those students who are in favor of these enterprises." This criticism is confirmed by a Filipino graduate who has lived in the House.

Mr. Edmonds observes: "There are many religious services held here, and many more are Christian than otherwise; and as to 'Christian work of any kind,' the House has been described by a group of visiting Presbyterian ministers as one of the finest pieces of Christian work that had ever come to their attention."

The charge that "national groups are constantly played

up, and in some cases real antagonism between groups of students of different nationalities seems to have developed because of this" is met by the reply that "a wholesome, strong tradition of the general membership in favor of internationalism serves as an automatic check and draws back the group which tends to become segregated or otherwise nationalistic."

Another criticism, by an American woman of wide contacts with foreign students, reads: "The life of such a great house must of course be distinctly institutional, and institutional life seems to me not what we would like our Oriental visitors to experience. Possibly a plan of smaller dormitories with something like the cottage system would be more nearly right."

The reply is: "During the last few days I have met student after student, just returned from their holidays, many of them Americans returning from their own homes, who have greeted me with the enthusiastic statement, 'We're glad to be home.' The home spirit and the home psychology permeate the House from top to bottom.

"As to locating Oriental or even students from other nationalities in American families in our large cities, one familiar with the subject would know that this possibility is very remote and to execute it would require an army of workers and a large budget."

In most places the opening of a number of cottages or homes for foreign students and Americans together would apparently be preferable to very large houses, though cottages might involve considerably heavier expense. It is a fair question, however, whether the results would not be greater in the long run even though a smaller number of students were accommodated. The experience at the International Student Foyer conducted by the Young Women's Christian Association in Chicago supports this position, although it must be admitted that the number of foreign students affected by one such center is quite limited.

Taking Canada and the United States as a whole, there are a considerable number of private homes where Orientals

are freely entertained, but many an Oriental, even of the cultured class, has spent years in North America without receiving a single invitation to be a guest in an American or Canadian Christian home. Invaluable as the organized agencies for fostering understanding and coöperation undoubtedly are, the multiplication of private homes which will open their doors to Orientals is a great desideratum.

In reference to the charge by more than one resident that they are not allowed to participate sufficiently in the management, the rejoinder is: "International House is a youth movement, par excellence. The Governing Board and the employed staff have their place, but the student body is the trustee of the activities. All of this is provided for in the By-Laws and is actually a part of the functioning of the House at this very moment, and has been from the very beginning. So that one may say that whatever is in vogue here with reference to the activities, student government, rules of the House, attitudes toward religion, the concept of nationalism *vs.* internationalism, etc., are matters of public opinion which have been worked out and applied in accordance with the opinion of the very large majority of those students who have come into close contact with the enterprise."

Mr. Edmonds sums up his experience in these words: "By and large, the operation of International House has vindicated the principles on which it was founded—principles that were worked out over a long period of experimentation; and out of several thousand members in all parts of the world, hundreds have testified that their membership in this fellowship has been their greatest educational and religious experience. In this group are included a great many missionaries and teachers who have helped and encouraged us to forge out this philosophy."

The Chinese already quoted supports this judgment: "I personally think that the International House has fulfilled a demand on the part of Chinese students. In a city like New York there should be a place where they can live under favorable conditions and be given opportunities to think

upon and discuss international and inter-racial problems among themselves. The International House has a program that supplies largely these needs."

V. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED IN PROMOTING RIGHT RELATIONS

In the second section of this paper consideration was given to the underlying social factors which condition the establishing of right inter-racial relations. We turn now to consider the underlying factors within or between the Christian agencies themselves which have an important bearing on right relations. Five factors will be mentioned.

Oriental Leadership

The development by Orientals of leadership of their own churches and social agencies in North America is vitally important. Because the Chinese immigrants included fewer men of education than the Japanese immigrants it has been impracticable to develop as many Chinese as Japanese leaders. There have, however, been a few Chinese, both clergymen and laymen, who have shown marked capacity for leadership. On this subject an American Christian worker has written illuminatingly:

"The adaptation of an Oriental group to the American community or the maintenance of definite segregation depends very much upon the personality of the leader in the Oriental community. The Japanese churches at both Ogden and Salt Lake have welcomed Americans to special occasions and to regular coöperation in Sunday-school work, but always retained the leadership themselves, instead of surrendering it to the Americans. I should be inclined to explain improving relations between Orientals and Americans almost in every case in terms of personal leadership. As far as I know, the leaders who have contributed most to the development of such relations have been Christian men. I have in mind Dr. Ng Poon Chew of San Francisco and Professor S. C. Lee, formerly of San Francisco, and now of

the University of Hawaii, and the Reverend Lee S. Hong, now a general missionary among the Chinese. I think these men have done more to develop satisfactory relations with the American community than any other Chinese in recent years. Among the Japanese, the late Mr. George Shima, the agriculturist, Mr. K. Abiko, the journalist, and several Christian workers have had a very large and significant influence."

While recognizing the measure of truth in the foregoing statement, written as it was by a man of exceptional knowledge and discrimination, it should be balanced by the following frank avowal of an eminent Japanese, who is a Christian and most friendly with Americans:

"In evaluating Japanese leadership all the American Christian workers on behalf of the Orientals overestimate the character of Christian Japanese. These Japanese may appear to be a logical link in problems involving Christendom, but American spokesmen have been apt to take that for granted far more than the facts warrant. Take the Japanese community here. The American Christian workers interested in the Japanese usually succeed in knowing only the Japanese who profess to be Christians or are inclined sympathetically toward Christianity, but these together constitute but a very small minority of the community. When these Americans write or speak, they do so on the basis of their limited and often biased experience. One can easily see without further elaboration what this may lead to. But because the Americans credit certain Christian Japanese with leadership which they do not in reality enjoy, the Japanese 'leaders' often foolishly manifest a superiority-complex very obnoxious to the rest of the community. American Christians often ignorantly attempt to defend Christian Japanese of doubtful or positively bad character on the basis of religious belief, but I consider this a poor business. In our effort for goodwill between the West and the East or Christendom and non-Christendom, perhaps it will be wise not to put too much emphasis on any one religion."

Autonomy

Closely related with competent Oriental leadership is the fact that autonomy, both financial and administrative, can be attained only with such leadership. The importance of such independence is thus emphasized by Dr. Hinman:

"An essential condition of developing satisfactory relations between the Japanese and American communities is the complete elimination of any sense of dependence on the part of the Oriental group, and such a development of that group in self-dependence and self-expression as will enable them to share equally in a fellowship with Americans. There seems to be little doubt that the encouragement of financial or other dependence by the Orientals is the most serious hindrance to satisfactory group relations no matter how benevolent may be the attitude of the American group. I have seen many instances of an American group eager to do anything possible to help the Orientals, and yet hindered by their own unwise generosity, which prevents that essential development of the Orientals to the point where real fellowship can exist.

"The Oriental groups under Christian influences who allow themselves to be patronized are no more successful in securing satisfactory relations with Americans than those who maintain their segregation and decline all except the simplest business contacts with Americans. Goodwill and coöperation are not possible except in an equal partnership, with mutual respect and confidence. There are several groups of Oriental Christians, in San Francisco, Berkeley, Vancouver, B. C., New York, and elsewhere, who have revolted against American patronage and are making a hobby of their independence. They are often called 'Trust God Missions.' Going to an extreme of protest against the common American practice of Oriental mission work of doing too much and retaining all control, these 'Trust God Missions' fail to establish goodwill and coöperation just as much as if they were not of the same faith with Americans."

Occidental Reciprocity Toward Orientals

It is exceedingly difficult for Occidentals to practise genuine reciprocity toward Orientals whom they profess to respect and to wish to treat as equals. The illustrations already given of the activities carried on by white churches and other agencies show that most of them tend to be one-sided, the conferring of a favor by Westerners upon Orientals. If relations are to be placed upon a sound basis it is indispensable that Orientals should be given more opportunities to instruct and entertain Occidentals and to take the leadership in coöperative enterprises whenever they are competent to do so. As Dr. H. H. Guy, an authority on Japanese-American relations, has said:

"Orientals should be consulted more. Take them on as full members of boards and other organizations dealing with the race problem. Give them a voice in selecting workers, foreign and Oriental. Ask them to take part in the discussion of solutions for the race problem."

In the southern States the inter-racial committees, composed of representative whites and Negroes, have proved to be exceedingly effective in preventing or solving local and regional difficulties between the two races. Thus far this plan has been only rarely tried by whites and Orientals on the Pacific Coast.

Second-Generation Orientals

If relations between the races are to be put on a permanently sound basis then far more consideration must be given to the second-generation Orientals, those born in North America.[1] Hitherto most of the efforts of the missions for Orientals in North America have been concentrated upon the older generation. The most galling situations for Orientals at the present time are those which arise from

[1] Statistics published by the Japanese Consulate General in San Francisco show that in October, 1926, there were 63,749 American-born citizens of Japanese parentage of whom 30,461 were adults and children of school age and 33,288 children below school age. Only 586 of the entire number were registered at the previous election as voters.

discrimination against those who are Americans and Canadians by birth and who are qualified to take important places in Occidental society but who are constantly discriminated against on account of their Oriental ancestry. Granted that the speedy removal of all the handicaps against the American-born Oriental is too much to expect, nevertheless it is incumbent upon white Christians, especially those in positions of leadership, to make more persistent and thoroughgoing efforts to incorporate the second generation of Orientals into the body politic.

Need for Scientific Research

The importance of dispassionate scientific studies of various elements of the inter-racial situation must have repeatedly occurred to the reader of this paper, particularly in connection with the underlying social, economic, and political factors. There has already been an encouraging beginning made in the application of social science to this situation and an evaluation of the work accomplished will be given in the succeeding section. Some of the Occidentals who have been most active in promoting activities directed toward inter-racial understanding are most insistent in urging the need of research.

An American, long concerned in fostering right relations between Japanese and Americans, writes: "Spend the first few years in honest research before forming definite plans. There is a great need of informing the Christian people of the exact problem which they are facing. It seems to me that we are not ready at this time to formulate plans of action. What we need is facts. And upon the basis of facts only, is it possible to form definite plans."

A secretary of the Hawaiian Board of Missions writes: "We are becoming aware of the increasing race-consciousness of various people with whom we work and it will doubtless be of great importance to us all to study the situation and analyze it without prejudice and with the highest type of scientific method of which we are capable."

A mission board secretary urges surveys specifically di-

rected toward the removal of competition among agencies: "Serious consideration should be given to the need for scientific surveys of Oriental communities in mainland United States as the Hawaiian Board is attempting in the territory of Hawaii, so that Oriental mission work may be less adventitious and opportunist and represent a scientifically based and efficiently coördinated program to cover the country. At present there are areas of competitive work, areas of complete neglect, and areas of unsupervised and misdirected effort. There are indications that volunteer workers who are carrying on the large amount of mission work for Chinese east of the Rockies would welcome suggestions about methods and needs such as might come out of a true community study of segregated Oriental groups in many eastern cities. Such a great volume of consecrated effort as is being put into Chinese mission schools in the east deserves the wisest guidance and direction by our boards even if they do not put a cent of appropriation into such enterprises."

VI. SCIENTIFIC STUDIES BEARING ON ORIENTAL-WHITE RELATIONS [1]

Studies bearing on relations between Orientals and whites in North America and professing to be scientific have been few in number, and those which deserve the epithet "scientific" are still fewer. For several decades both platform and press along the Pacific Coast have abounded in charges and counter-charges about the numbers and capacities of the Oriental immigrants and the social effects of their presence. Politicians who found in the Chinese or Japanese "issue" a stepping-stone to power, were not particular as to the accuracy of their assertions. There is, therefore, ground for encouragement in the gradual growth of a demand among the intelligent element in the white population for sifted facts on racial subjects.

[1] Professor Erle Young, of the University of Southern California, assisted in the evaluation of certain of the studies mentioned.

The literature dealing with Orientals in North America may be classified into propagandist, which embraces the bulk of it, pseudo-scientific, such as that which has harped on alleged "Nordic superiority," and scientific, with which we are here concerned.

Studies by Individuals

The scientific and semi-scientific studies bearing on Orientals in America have nearly all been made by members of academic faculties.

The first notable study of the Chinese in the United States, *Chinese Immigration*, by Professor Mary Roberts Coolidge, 1909, constituted an authoritative review of the subject in both its legal and its social aspects up to the time of its publication. *The Chinese Abroad*, by Professor H. F. MacNair, 1924, deals with emigration not only to the United States but to all parts of the world, and its data embrace the fifteen years after the writing of the preceding volume.

The earliest study of the Japanese in America worthy of note was undertaken by Professor H. A. Millis in 1914, under the auspices of the Commission on Relations with Japan, of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, and was published under the title *The Japanese Problem in the United States*. The volume presents much information without apparent bias, but the author goes beyond the scientist's function of presenting impartial data, and proposes measures for solving the racial problems involved. *The Japanese Invasion: a Study in the Psychology of Interracial Conflicts*, by Professor Jesse F. Steiner, appeared in 1917. Its particular value consists in focusing attention on the psychological factors in racial contacts, such as color antipathy, clan solidarity, and nationalism. Its data, like those of Dr. Millis's volume, are mostly drawn from current printed sources. *American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship*, by Sidney L. Gulick, 1918, presents a useful history of American immigration and naturalization laws touching Asiatics and strongly advocates a non-discriminatory policy on both lines. *Japan and the California Problem*, by T.

Iyenaga and T. Sato, 1921, is a restrained presentation of a liberal Japanese viewpoint.

Christian Missions and Oriental Civilizations: a Study in Culture Contacts, by Maurice T. Price, 1924, is the most ambitious attempt yet made to analyze the psychological reactions of Orientals to Occidental ideas. The materials are drawn almost entirely from magazines and books rather than from the first-hand observation of individuals or of groups. Consequently the deductions drawn by the author, while suggestive, are lacking in due allowance for the warping influence of rationalization and other motives by the writers. This study is not without value in itself, but it shows the prior need for a number of intensive studies of group reactions to the ideas and institutions introduced by the missionary. The missionary movement should welcome such studies by independent investigators, but it should encourage its own members to make realistic studies such as have been embodied in Johannes Warneck's *The Living Christ and Dying Heathenism*, Campbell N. Moody's *The Saints in Formosa*, and W. C. Smith's *The Ao Naga of Assam*.

Country Life in South China, by Professor D. H. Kulp, 2nd, bears on Oriental-white relations by giving a precise picture and analysis of the static family-centered society of a Chinese village as it begins to respond to the impact of dynamic Western culture. Able as this study was, it may be criticized for failing to reflect the changes occurring in the emotional and ideational life of the villagers, a feat which might have been possible had the investigator lived long and intimately in the village.

Studies Conducted by Organizations

The studies so far discussed represent the labor of isolated individuals, dependent for the most part on secondary data. It was not until 1923 that coöperative and extensive original research in this field was inaugurated in the form of the Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast. The first step toward its organization was taken by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, which later supplied part of

the funds, but the conduct of the field work was undertaken by a group of social scientists in the universities of California, Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, under the guidance of the Research Director, Professor R. E. Park, and the Administrative Director, J. Merle Davis. President R. L. Wilbur, of Stanford University, early realized the significance of the enterprise and served as chairman of the committee which supervised the work and raised part of the funds.

A large volume of fresh material was gathered, consisting chiefly of life-histories and other statements of Oriental residents, studies of the evolution of Oriental groups or colonies, and vital, occupational, and economic statistics. Several sections of the Survey were left incomplete when it was terminated in 1925, so that the output of printed reports has been limited. A Findings Conference held in March, 1925, issued Tentative Findings which have received widespread notice on the Pacific Coast and have influenced leaders of opinion. A special number of *The Survey Graphic* (New York) was issued in May, 1926, entitled *East by West*, which contained popular summarizations of certain findings of the Race Survey from the pen of leading participants in it. The relatively new methods used in the Survey are described in *The New Social Research*, by Emory S. Bogardus, 1926. A monograph preliminary to a fuller study of the life-history and interview documents is *The Second Generation Oriental in America*, by William C. Smith, who has actively continued to gather further materials in Hawaii. Professor Park is preparing to write a general volume dealing with the development of public opinion and other psychological aspects of race relations on the Pacific Coast.

Fragmentary though the Race Survey was, it yielded certain notable results which may not at first sight be evident: (1) It stimulated social scientists in the coast universities to turn their own and their students' attention to the rich and neglected field of race contacts. (2) It is said by local observers like President Wilbur to have gone far to

make journalists and other leaders form the habit of asking the specialists what the cold facts on racial matters are, instead of continuing to rely on hearsay and propagandist statements. (3) It showed the Oriental residents and their compatriots across the ocean that the era of propaganda and passion was giving way to the search for all the relevant facts. (4) It paved the way for the organization of the Institute of Pacific Relations, one of whose chief emphases is research into the underlying factors that make for interracial conflict or harmony.

The Institute of Pacific Relations, like the Survey of Race Relations, was the child of the happy union of science and religion. The Institute was first projected on a socio-religious basis by the Honolulu Young Men's Christian Association, and when the basis was made non-religious and scientific, the driving force in it continued in large measure to be men and women of strong religious motives. Its chairman is President Wilbur and its general secretary is J. Merle Davis. The Institute held its second conference in July, 1927, when two of the chief topics of study and discussion were Oriental residents in North America and the legal and social aspects of exclusion legislation. Two of the volumes which were specially prepared to present the relevant data on these topics drew considerably on the work of the Survey of Race Relations and were written by leaders in that survey. These volumes were *Resident Orientals on the Pacific Coast*, by Eliot G. Mears, and *Oriental Exclusion*, by R. D. McKenzie. They present a mass of information in convenient and impartial fashion, and advance decidedly the substitution of fact-finding for political maneuvering and emotional argument on racial subjects. One of the chief contributions of Professor McKenzie's work is the tracing of the natural history of exclusion movements, which is done in the first few pages.

The Institute has also printed (but not published) a study known as *Orient and Occident*, by Goodwin B. Watson, which is a significant experiment in the study of the attitudes of various groups of Americans toward Orientals and the

problems arising from Oriental-white contacts. It utilizes the still tentative psychological devices of "multiple choice responses," showing attitudes, and "feeling reactions" to such words as Japanese, Nordic, white supremacy, and Yellow Peril.

A promising series of researches into the biological, sociological, and anthropological phases of inter-racial contact and assimilation has been inaugurated by a group of scientists in the University of Hawaii, who are deriving their data chiefly from the unique inter-racial laboratory which lies at hand in the Hawaiian Islands, and which is unusually free from the distortion of pronounced racial prejudice. One of the products of these researches is the volume, *Temperament and Race*, by S. D. Porteus and Marjorie Babcock, 1926, which attempts to apply modern techniques to the comparison of the qualities and capacities of the races represented in Hawaii. Its scientific quality is impaired by certain inadequately supported hypotheses and conclusions.

VII. CONCLUSION

Our review of Oriental-white relations on the Pacific Coast of North America has thrown into relief four forms of activity which should especially concern the foreign missionary movement and the churches behind it. These may be briefly characterized and lessons for the Christian agencies pointed out.

The first is the fostering of personal association and friendship, free from the taint of either patronage or constraint, between whites and Orientals. Without the atmosphere which such relations create, the task of removing the deep-seated legislative, political, economic, and cultural sources of friction and division may become well-nigh impossible.

The second is the prosecution of patient, impartial inquiries into the facts, particularly such facts as will shed light on the natural history of inter-racial adjustment, on intermarriage, on the development of popular attitudes and opinions toward other races, and on the solution of specific

problems of subsistence and population. Religious agencies are not at present equipped to conduct such inquiries, but they can lend encouragement to them and can be on the alert to profit by the results.

The third is thorough and frequent counsel, study, and planning by responsible whites and Orientals, meeting together as equals in a common search after truth for the good of all. Instances of such colloquies are the Peking Conference of the World's Student Christian Federation, the Riverside annual conferences on inter-racial and international subjects, the conferences of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council. In all these gatherings Orientals and whites participate on equal terms. The last two organizations have effected a combination of painstaking inquiry with fellowship and discussion which may well be emulated by all missionary agencies. As Mr. J. H. Oldham has said: "Only when the two sides sit down together to study the same body of facts does it become possible to arrive at a common mind." [1] The careful ascertaining of the relevant facts in advance and the interplay of opinions, sentiments, and personalities in face-to-face consideration of those facts yield results unattainable by either process alone.

The fourth is the prosecution by local and national religious organizations of systematic activities directed toward the fostering of goodwill and coöperation among Orientals and whites. Sure ways of impeding such goodwill and coöperation are to limit relations between the races to formal occasions and to assume that whites should always be teachers and leaders, never learners and lieutenants. All these activities should frequently be subjected to critical appraisal; they should promptly be revised in response to the findings of scientific inquiries; and the agencies in control, curbing institutional pride, should seek the most effective adjustment of their programs to those of kindred agencies.

[1] Oldham, J. H., *Christianity and The Race Problem.* London: Student Christian Movement, 1924, p. 240.

Part Two

THE COUNCIL'S DISCUSSION

BASED ON THE REPORT OF THE
RECORDING SECRETARIES

In the following chapters will be found the statements by President John Hope, and Mr. Max Yergan, who opened the discussion in the plenary session of the Council, and a summary of the Council's discussion by the Reverend James O. Dobson. This report of the opening statement and of the discussion is based on the notes of the recording secretaries. The notes were not verbatim but the report of each speech was submitted to the speaker for approval. The discussion was continued in a sectional meeting. The results of these discussions are found in the statement adopted by the Council. The attention of the reader is called also to the addresses published in Volume VIII, and especially to the following: "The Present Situation in China," by Dr. David Z. T. Yui, and "What is Moving in the Heart of India?" by Dr. S. K. Datta.

CHAPTER V

THE PROBLEM OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

John Hope, LL.D.

I. DANGER OF MISREPRESENTATION

IT is necessary for intelligent people to beware of the literature concerning the Negro question in America. Much of the literature that is quoted has been written by apologists. There are northern and southern white apologists, and there are even some Negro apologists, and they are more or less partizan in spite of the effort to be fair. Hence people who are trying to write about the subject in a detached way are often misled by this literature. The Negro has become a vogue recently in literature, on the stage, and in music, although in a very limited way. Much of what is offered is pure misrepresentation. Then again there are many immature young men and women who wish to get degrees. It is easy to get a degree on the Negro question because the professors themselves in many cases do not know much about the subject. If readers want to get really reliable information on the Negro question, the following sources are suggested:

George E. Haynes, Federal Council of Churches, New York City

National Commission on Inter-racial Relations, Atlanta, Georgia

Opportunity Magazine, New York City

Monroe W. Work, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

National Association for Advancement of Colored People, New York City

Carter W. Woodson, *Negro Journal of History*, Washington, D. C.

The Negro question in the United States of America affects only 12,000,000 people, and these 12,000,000 are more

widely distributed than is generally supposed. The Negro people in the southern States are much fewer in number than many people think, and yet this question is the most embarrassing single question that has to be faced in the United States of America to-day. It is important in a large way because it does affect the entire population of 110,000,000 people.

It is significant that in this conference all racial questions are being discussed. So much has been heard already of difficulties due to the lack of a square deal, so much of downright sorrow throughout the world that I hesitate to bring forward the difficulties of my own race. Personally I am not now much concerned with race prejudice in America or in the entire world. To me, personally, whatever race prejudice can do it has done already. But I am tremendously concerned about what is going to happen to the people who will come after me. My interest, as nearly personal as may be, is in my two sons, and I have very great interest in the children of my two sons—children who are not yet born. And I have, furthermore, keen interest in the race problem for the effect it will inevitably have upon all people alike, upon the victims and upon those who do the victimizing. I am not blaming the people in America to-day for what has happened. The white people of to-day had nothing more to do with bringing Negro slaves from Africa than I had. As a matter of fact, I am not interested in blaming people at all. But if I were to blame people, it would be for things that are being done now. There are errors that could be corrected now. Action could be taken in America in a very fine, dignified fashion, and if it be not taken, prejudice with resulting injustice may go on until it degenerates into a caste problem that may become well-nigh insoluble.

The problem cannot rightly be attributed to any one single phenomenon. Nowadays people spend far too much time in explaining how the Negro came to be where he is, whereas time might better be given to efforts to extricate the Negro from where he is and the white people from where they are.

II. NEED FOR A JUST SOCIAL ATTITUDE

It was said by a pre-Civil War distinguished American jurist that the Negro has no rights that a white man is bound to respect. This judge was simply recording in a legal way what had come to be the conventional social attitude in the United States of America. Although we have the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, it too often happens that the gap between white and colored people is so great that it is possible for the white people to deal with the Negro after one code, and with one another after a quite different code. In spite of this they have managed somehow to maintain a remarkably fine ethic towards one another, but the question is whether even that can be continued much longer. From now on injustice to Negroes may have a serious moral reaction on the white people even in their dealings with one another. Some such apprehension as this caused a small group of white people in the southern States to come together a few years ago to try to think out a relationship between the two races that would be fair, just, and Christian. They had a feeling that they could not keep their own civilization morally intact if they continued to deal unfairly with the Negro. The question is not simply one of economics or of education or of character. The long line of injustice is due to withholding from the Negro his right to exercise and develop his own personality.

There is one thing to be kept in mind when explaining the prosperity and great development of Negroes and their whole attitude towards existing conditions: that great light has come to the Negro through the home-mission schools of the South. The whole system of Negro education, which includes the teaching of the Bible, has resulted in a Negro leadership that is effective in three ways: (1) in constructive outlook, (2) in unselfish objective, and (3) in poise, moderation, and cheerful optimism in the face of all difficulties.

I would not venture to cite myself as an example of such saintliness, but I have gone through the entire range of

embarrassment from fear of lynching up to—or down to—the finest, most subtle condescension that one person could feel from another. The Negro shows little resentment. But that is not because the Negro does not know and feel. It is rather that he downright believes in Jesus Christ. My hope for a happy solution of the problem lies (1) in the fine sense of justice of the United States when at its best, (2) in my belief in the Negro's own high qualities, and (3) in the inexorable movement of Jesus Christ in the hearts of men.

When one thinks of these 12,000,000 people, one must see that the Negroes' activities on behalf of themselves are not alone sufficient for their own highest development and expression. The noble qualities of Negroes, the great number of Negro leaders, and the breadth of this leadership call for a broader and more unselfish field in which they may develop and give freest scope to their life. Might not missionary boards and governments give American Negroes an opportunity in Africa to work on the problem there? It will be a tragedy if they are limited to the saving of their own skins. Let them have a nobler calling.

CHAPTER VI

THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA

The Reverend Max Yergan, M.A.

I. PROBLEMS BEFORE THE COUNCIL

I HAVE here a statement which is suggestive of one's hopes for this conference. I should hope that this conference might take action on lines something like the following:

That this Council should commit itself to a statement of belief in and practice of the sacredness and inviolability of personality as taught by Jesus and the Christian faith; and its belief that this principle is applicable to the whole of men's life and relationships.

That this Council should recognize, commend, and morally support Christian councils, missions, churches, and other bodies in their effort to realize this principle.

That, in keeping with its constitutional provision, its spirit and its inescapable responsibility, this Council should declare its position to the world and take whatever steps are possible to bring the influence of this principle to bear upon existing conditions.

I am quite willing to leave the students of anthropology to consider some of those aspects of the race question which are separate from the phase with which we here have to deal. With reference to the question in South Africa I want to direct attention to some of the basic factors.

II. BASIC FACTORS IN THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The situation exists as it does because of political changes. The whole of Africa south of the Mediterranean section, with the exception of Liberia and Abyssinia, has fallen under the political control of four or five of the larger powers of Europe.

We cannot escape from Africa's economic significance, that is to say, her gold, diamonds, oil, rubber, cotton.

There we get some light upon the racial question and some leading as to our Christian duty. This economic penetration is of very great significance. Prominent people are quoted as saying that India was conquered in order to make a market for British cotton goods. Happily no such statement has been made in regard to Africa. In fact governments have given expression recently to favorable pronouncements regarding the principle of trusteeship. But we have to remind ourselves of a statement like that and of the economic relationship of the Western world to Africa.

As a result of this economic situation we are face to face with a vast body of social changes into which forces from the outside have penetrated. The African chieftainship and much that went with it has been in many instances replaced by the white magistrate. The socialistic outlook of Africa has been challenged and in places replaced by the individualistic outlook of the West. There is no longer enough land available because different ideas of ownership are entering in.

In South Africa there is another aspect of this effect of outside penetration which must be kept in view. There are 1,500,000 Europeans who have entered South Africa and settled alongside 4,500,000 black people. Here is a European group with its body of beliefs and practices and over against it an African group. The European group controls and dictates the forms of life under which people live there. But the average European group is really controlled by fear of the black majority. Because of this the white man feels justified in resorting to whatever measures are required, military, political, economic, to effect the things in which he believes. He says it is his business to protect his heritage. So we have the Color Bar Bill which proposed to keep Africans from participating in such skilled industries as would bring them into competition with Europeans. Then there are the land proposals: eighty-eight per cent. of the land belongs to the Europeans, twelve per cent. to Africans; there is also the proposed Franchise Bill in which it is proposed to take away the rights at present

enjoyed by African people and substitute a communal form of voting. The Africans unanimously protested against this Bill and a minority of Europeans also protested.

We must come face to face with two facts: (1) There is a great fear, natural and real, existing not because the Europeans are necessarily bad, but because they are controlled by fear and the natural instinct to hold what they have. There is need for replacing that fact by something else, and what that something else is it is for bodies like this to discover. (2) Western life is thrusting itself upon the African whether the African or the European desires it or not. This process could become ruthless. There have been forces at work that have attempted to remove its ruthless aspects, but the whole attitude of people towards Africa must be shot through with a spirit of righteousness that would take into account Africa's human possessions as well as her material resources.

III. CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES AT WORK

The constructive forces at work in Africa to-day are: (1) a vast body of missionary work which has made it possible for the African to commend himself to the European people; (2) qualities of improvability that the Africans themselves are demonstrating; (3) a European minority which we have to remind ourselves is always there; (4) the work of the inter-racial commission which is trying to bear witness to the truth that all personality ought to be respected. Moreover, there are new movements among the students that are promising a better day: there is the action of the Church—the Dutch Reformed Church has begun to discuss questions which hitherto could not be even raised, and the Anglicans, the Presbyterians, and the Wesleyans have all united to protest against the Color Bar Bill and have registered their protest as a conviction of the Church; there was the mission of Donald Fraser to the white people of South Africa in 1926; all these things are contributing towards some solution of the question.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY OF THE COUNCIL'S DISCUSSION

James O. Dobson, B.A.

"THE world menace of inter-racial antagonisms constitutes the supreme concrete challenge to the Christian belief that all men are the children of God." That conviction, deeply held, and fortified by the manifold experience of people drawn from such varied aspects of "the human scene," dominated a discussion in which stark facts were faced with honest frankness, yet withal in an attitude of Christian understanding.

I. A LEGACY FROM THE PAST

This present battling challenge to Christian thinking and living is not entirely of our own creation. It is a legacy from the past—a product of the striving, ambitious, and ignorant blunderings of generations that knew not what they did. That the whole situation is not worse, we owe to some among them who were single-minded and clear-minded. And because its roots run back deeply into the past, the problem is complex, a bundle of interlacing questions. So there is no short and easy solution. Further, it is woven into the process of history, and that process always carries more consequences than any single man can calculate.

Such facts must be accepted, but they must not lead merely to blame of the past, or to an inhibiting sense of helplessness. The facts of history must in some degree determine present and future.

As Bishop Ferguson Davie said,

> Past history inevitably enters in. Part of the difficulty in South Africa is that fifty years ago the majority of people there were not in the same moral and social position as they are to-day. . . . In

India there are still re-echoes of 1857, and the terrible mistake at Amritsar in 1919 will continue to bear fruit for many years.

The current seems irresistible. Max Yergan said,

Western life is thrusting itself upon the African whether the African or the European desires it or not. This process could become ruthless.

That "could" betrays a Christian philosophy. The determination of the future by past facts is but relative: otherwise the word redemption would mock us because it would be meaningless. And the Christian mind spoke again through Dr. Hope:

I am tremendously concerned about what is going to happen to the people who will come after me. . . . I have, furthermore, keen interest in the race problem for the effect it will inevitably have upon all people alike, upon the victims and upon those who do the victimizing. I am not blaming the people in America to-day for what has happened. The white people of to-day had nothing more to do with bringing Negro slaves from Africa than I had. As a matter of fact, I am not interested in blaming people at all. But if I were to blame people, it would be for the things that are being done now.

But the problem is not simple. Dr. Alexander said:

The question is two-sided—Dr. Hope and Max Yergan are one part of it, and I, the Southern white man, am the other.

In the light of the discussion it appeared rather as many-sided. And because all the diversity of mankind is bound together organically in a great society, the incidence of race-relationships is universal. The disease may manifest itself in certain plague-spots, but the whole body is sick.

II. THE FACTS OF PRESENT RACE RELATIONS

The facts and consequences of present race relations, as they are working out in the life of our time, were not glossed in presentation, and the evidence must be heeded if the Church is to fulfil its mission. Let some of it be cited.

Professor Bocobo set forth the following facts on the situation in the Philippines:

The racial conflict between American and Filipinos has made the Philippines one of the sorest spots in the world. . . . American capitalists are demanding land for the planting of rubber on a large scale. They want the abolition of the law limiting the holding of public land to 2,000 acres. The Washington Government is backing the plan of the capitalists. Since we have protested against these proposals, our autonomy, granted in 1916, has been largely withdrawn. Perhaps this step was taken to intimidate us into giving up this patrimony. . . . The Philippine question is the football of American politics. . . . Our faults are magnified by the press and by American Government officials. We acknowledge our faults, but they should not be exaggerated. We want a chance to correct them, and to grow into full stature out of our fettered national life. . . .

Professor Jabavu mentioned the following instances of inequality in Africa:

One of the great difficulties in the way of black people in South Africa building up their own church is the feeling that even under Christian missions there is no equality in Church or State. Islam is gaining more African adherents because of the attitude on this question. . . . The government enacts all sorts of laws against black men, just because of their color. . . . There is land segregation . . . and social segregation. . . . In Pretoria I cannot ride in a tram. There is accommodation for black men on the trains, but again they are segregated. . . .

Mr. Grimshaw urged the removal of the color bar and the necessity of studying the primitive culture:

I would remind the Council that what you have heard from Max Yergan and Mr. Jabavu is not typical, in that it came from men from whose hearts all bitterness has been removed. But in the hearts of millions of others it has not been removed. One of the tasks of the Council is to help to remove it, for that bitterness is potent in making foci of insurrection, rebellion, and war wherever race relationships are not governed by those principles for which the Christian Church stands. . . . The Color Bar Act in South Africa is a response to an existing situation, and perhaps has stereotyped and hardened it, but the color bar existed before the Act came into force. There is, in fact, a color bar, possibly not formulated in set

terms, but none the less effective, in almost all cases where advanced and primitive peoples come into contact.

Another aspect of race relationships merits some thought. If you take primitive peoples of the Pacific Islands as examples, you find that mere contact with the white man, without conscious intention on his part, has destroyed the social organization of the people and their religion. Their religions, primitive though they may be, yet probably mean more to these people in their daily life than ours does to us, since they govern almost every act. According to scientific evidence, some of those people are dying out, not from causes of war or disease or labor pressure, but simply because their religion, their social organization, and everything that gave point to life is destroyed, and they have nothing left to live for. This is not done willingly or consciously by the white people, but it is none the less the result of contact. Before entering into relations with these peoples at all we should be careful to understand them. The missionary should know what he is breaking down before he attempts to set up. Some people might ask whether there is anything in primitive organization that is worth conserving. But that question cannot be asked here.

III. ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

But such speeches were not merely an exposé of exacerbated relationships—had they been so, the Council might have concluded that, race contact being inevitable in the present process of the world's life, bitterness issuing in conflict was likewise inevitable. Running through the discussion was an analysis of the problem. The occasions of race contact are not abnormal. They are just those that naturally occur between nations, or between groups within a nation, or between individuals. Even there they sometimes give rise to antipathy and conflict, but when the parties are of different race some virus seems to infect and poison human intercourse.

Mr. Yergan had drawn attention to the political factor in the African continent, where almost the whole population was under the dominion of European powers, and Professor Bocobo pointed out how political supremacy is still more degraded when it becomes a subject of party controversies.

Miss Kim spoke of discrimination against Koreans in administrative affairs.

Economic relations appeared even more fruitful of antipathy—especially when, as so often, they become the motive of political action. Africa's illimitable wealth, in gold, diamonds, oil, rubber, and cotton may become a curse to her people, and desire for rubber dividends showed scant regard for the Filipinos. The unhappy tale of discriminating immigration laws was told in part, revealing again economic fear, and still more was that apparent where different races, with different economic standards, dwell side by side.

More subtle are social differences—of tradition and convention, habit and custom—which become accentuated by contact. This was illustrated again from South Africa, where a million and a half of Europeans have settled alongside three times that number of black folk, and now determine the modes of life under which people shall live there—a determination partly dictated by fear for the white social inheritance. But the African has a price to pay. The chieftainship, and much that is symbolized, gives place to a white magistracy, and the exchange of an individualistic for a communal outlook carries the unpremeditated consequence that "there is no longer enough land available because different ideas of ownership are entering in." Here Bishop Ferguson Davie, thinking of India, offered sound advice:

> Let missionaries and others try to overcome the tremendous separation between the races, study language and customs, read Indian newspapers, accept the hospitality of Indian homes.

Political, economic, and social intercourse belong to normal human life, and are not evil in themselves. But they involve moral issues, and moral and spiritual failure will poison a relationship that might be healthy. Pride—not that proper pride which cherishes what is good in an inherited tradition, but the undiscriminating pride that issues in an irrational self-superiority and contempt of others; unregulated lust of gain; fear rooted in ignorance; the

arrogance of the spiritually under-developed, who abuse power and authority—such are the sources of race antipathy.

IV. UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES

The African members of the Council—whose speeches made a profound impression because of their moderation, humility, and wisdom—appealed to the Council to commit itself to a definite statement of the principles that must inform any Christian attitude in race relations. The root of the matter, as Mr. Yergan put it, is the recognition in practice of "the sacredness and inviolability of personality as taught by Jesus and the Christian faith." That principle of the sanctity of personality, of the spiritual worth of every man in his own right, is the kernel of the Christian doctrine of man. It is an implication of the Incarnation. But how often it is denied in every-day practice.

Professor Jabavu said:

> Many professing Christians are not treating black people as being possessed of a full personality.

And Dr. Hope made a luminous comment:

> Although we have the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, it too often happens that the gap between white and colored people is so great that it is possible for the white people to deal with the Negro after one code, and with one another after a quite different code. In spite of this they have managed somehow to maintain a remarkably fine ethic toward one another, but the question is whether even that can be continued much longer. From now on injustice to Negroes may have a serious moral reaction on the white people even in their dealings with one another. . . . The long line of injustice is due to withholding from the Negro his right to exercise and develop his own personality.

An Indian Christian woman, Miss Tilak, spoke gentle words, which penetrated the minds of all:

> As Christian people we have no doubt, and we do not discuss the principle of our Lord, that in Him there is neither Greek nor barbarian, but we should humbly examine ourselves, whether we are

prepared to carry out this principle to its last conclusion. . . . Are we not all responsible for the human tendency to generalize from particulars to generalities? We have a limited number of contacts, and then we say, "Oh, he is an American," or "He is a Britisher." There is the tendency to superiority almost unconsciously expressing itself in the most subtle fashion. We fail to discover the good in other races. It is not only the British, but all the peoples of the world who are proud. "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?"

"All men are the children of God." If that be true, another truth follows from it. If all are children of a common Father, then all belong to one family. Nations and races are inter-related and interdependent. And this belongs to the meaning of atonement, that no man can be truly in fellowship with God unless he be also in fellowship with all other men. How can a man love God if he love not his brother?

That principle is vital to the life of the great society in an age when its members are being thrust into an increasing intimacy. It is desperately important for political and economic relations. For unless that intercourse be informed by ethical and spiritual principle, it can only become "an intercourse of friction."

Bishop Ferguson Davie said:

We want to understand each other but we want also to understand the mind of God.

It was true, as Dr. Murray remarked, that it was a dark picture of race relationships presented to the Council, but through it all was the light of hope that, if Christian principles could be interpreted into the terms of race relations, disaster could be averted. The Philippines might be "one of the sorest spots in the world," said Jorge Bocobo, "but it could be cured by the power of Jesus Christ." Dr. Hope was an optimist because of "the inexorable movement of Jesus Christ in the hearts of men," and so was Mr. Jabavu. And a South African white, Dr. Murray, bade the Council hope.

V. THE APPLICATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

But how translate those fundamental convictions of the faith in concrete terms, of the big-scale relations between

nations and races, and of the manifold personal contacts of men and women? Dr. Alexander pleaded for a mutual, imaginative faith.

> If the white people could see the possibilities of the backward people in terms of Max Yergan or Dr. Hope, they would have faith in the improvability of the masses of so-called black people. And colored leaders must have faith in the ability of a small minority of white people to stand by them and ultimately secure justice.

Dr. Hope testified to his faith "in the fine sense of justice of the United States when at its best," and in the Negro's own high qualities.

But goodwill is not enough. And there comes a time when discussion will prove barren unless it issue in action. The Council found good ground for faith in the testimony—even stronger in volume than that of the coils of existing race relations—as to what groups of Christians are attempting constructively all over the world. The speakers of African race, all deeply involved in works of reconciliation, spoke with authority here of inter-racial and inter-church commissions in South Africa and the southern States of North America.

M. de Meuron told how the Archbishop of Capetown had led a deputation, representing most of the churches and missions of South Africa, on the Color Bar Bill. Even though they had failed to prevent the passage of the bill they had saved the day for Christianity in the country.

Most impressive was the statement of Dr. Alexander:

> In the South in the last ten years, new contacts between the two races have been built up. Now we have commissions made up of 100 colored and white men and women, with an able staff of workers, and are now beginning a far-reaching program of coöperation, working with the press and in schools. Thirteen States have inter-racial committees. In several hundred local communities, committees of white and colored people are working together in the spirit of their religion. . . . The most fruitful work is that done with the younger generation, for children are not born with color prejudice. In 100 southern colleges there are courses in race relationships, and the students are enthusiastic about them. Fifteen years ago the Phelps-

Stokes Fund established graduate fellowships in race study in certain southern universities, and the results have been most gratifying. In 1927 papers on the race problem from pupils in 1,000 high schools reflected a liberal attitude. The elementary schools are even more important. Definite plans are being carried out in certain southern cities to discover how best to reach the children in the elementary grades. A course on race in Teachers College, Columbia University, promises good results. There teachers go into the classrooms and affect the attitude of actual children through the teaching of history, geography, and literature. This course for teachers has now been extended to teachers in certain other cities with encouraging results.

And of all this the most important things are not what has actually been done, but the atmosphere that has been created. Race prejudices are not removed by a frontal attack. Goodwill is a by-product of contact and understanding. So the Church's policy must be one of persistent "peaceful penetration."

But much more needs to be done. Not enough study and research has yet been undertaken on the question. A great field is awaiting us here. Research as done by scientists is in danger of becoming an end in itself. It must be related to some dynamic force. Research is needed by those who plan the work of the Church.

Basil Mathews, feeling deeply the responsibility laid upon the Council, and the unique opportunity of leadership presented to it, outlined the following scheme for a continuous process of research:

1. We should ask for expert minds to examine into what were the real issues underlying inter-racial friction-causes, economic, social, political, rural, psychological, and religious, and to disentangle these questions and find out what they really mean.

2. We should seek to learn where race friction comes into action to-day most critically and dangerously and in what forms.

3. What is the light shed upon the problem by (a) the thought and action of Jesus in face of the conditions of His own time, and (b) the teaching and action of the apostles and the early Church: the idea of the Christian Church itself as a fellowship that transcends race?

4. How can we recover for the Church to-day our Lord's plans of thought and action and apply it in the spheres where they were at work?

5. In what ways can the missionary forces accumulate knowledge,

carry out analyses, and spread these so as to influence public opinion —teachers, their textbooks, the press, student migrations, and literature?

6. What other organizations are there already doing some of these things? What experiences have they accumulated and what is their value? What do they do and what measure of sharing or coöperation is possible and desirable (e.g., with the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Commission on Inter-racial Coöperation, the Institute of Social and Religious Research)?

7. In what ways and in what places, by a constructive program based on successful experiment, can the missionary movement at this stage most profitably concentrate the forces at its disposal in a courageous forward-looking leading to the world on this great central issue? In sum, how can we be obedient to Christ's true will in the situation as it confronts us now?

What more? Bishop Uzaki was of opinion that the participation of all peoples in the League of Nations would help race relations, and though Miss Kim had doubts of this, because the present constitution of the League provides no place for subject peoples, the Council had been reminded of possible assets in the great international activities associated with Geneva. And Dr. Murray rightly urged that, if South Africa had disabilities, it had also resources, and wise strategy would utilize them to the full.[1] From several countries came the reminder of the importance of the younger generation—the value of the late Dr. Aggrey's contacts with students; the results of the tentative efforts by the Student Christian Movement in South Africa; the transforming influence of Christian schools and colleges in Turkey.

To sum up the matter, there are two fundamental needs which must be met if the present race tension is to give place to mutual understanding and goodwill, and the statement of these two alternated throughout the discussion. One is in the realm of the mind—the need for patient study of the facts, and their meaning. The second is of the spirit, and, without conscious design it found expression in the appeal

[1] See sections III and IV of Dr. Dexter Taylor's paper, pp. 90–117.

for faith, hope, and love. And the greatest of these is love. "Christian love," said Professor Jorge Bocobo, "nourishes the tree of life, which is for the healing of nations."

In those two demands the Council saw the unique opportunity of the world mission of the Christian Church. There are no more important people in the world's life to-day than those who live and work in constant and intimate association with people of another race, and the missionary work of the Church is of itself the biggest single force making for understanding between nations and races. To that body of knowledge essential to the right ordering of human intercourse, missionaries are making continuous contribution. And the mission of the Church is an offering of faith, hope, and love.

Part Three

THE COUNCIL'S STATEMENT

ADOPTED BY FORMAL VOTE OF THE COUNCIL

The following statement was prepared by a committee appointed by the section of the Council which discussed The Christian Mission in the Light of Race Conflict. After consideration and amendment by the Council as a whole it was accepted by formal vote as their official statement.

CHAPTER VIII

RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Duty of Christians

ALL Christian forces, and particularly the International Missionary Council, dedicated as they are to prepare for the establishment among all mankind of the Kingdom of God, are bound to work with all their power to remove race prejudice and adverse conditions due to it, to preserve the rights of peoples, and to establish educational, religious, and other facilities designed to enable all alike to enjoy equality of social, political, and economic opportunity.

The Fatherhood of God and the sacredness of personality are vital truths revealed in Christ, which all Christian communities are bound to press into action in all the relationships of life. These truths are too often denied and defied in inter-racial relationships. Antagonism and suspicion, envy, greed, pride, and fear blight the growth among the races of mankind of "the fruit of the Spirit, which is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance."

Our Lord's thought and action, the teaching of His apostles, and the fact that the Church, as the Body of Christ, is a community transcending race, show that the different peoples are created by God to bring each its peculiar gift to His City, so that all may enhance its glory by the rich diversities of their varying contributions. The spirit which is eager to "bear one another's burdens and thus fulfil the law of Christ" should permeate all inter-racial relationships. Any discrimination against human beings on the ground of race or color, any selfish exploitation, and any oppression of man by man is, therefore, a denial of the teaching of Jesus.

While we thank God for the courageous, persevering, and prophetic action taken by many communities and individuals toward achieving the will of Christ in the improvement of inter-racial relationships in areas where such friction is

particularly acute, we confess with humiliation that we in the Christian churches are still far from realizing this principle even within our own borders.

It is the duty of the Christian forces everywhere, and particularly of the International Missionary Council and its constituent bodies, to learn more fully the mind of Christ on the problem of inter-racial relations, and to press forward boldly the realization of permanent world-wide understanding.

A Constructive Program

The Christian forces require a constructive program of action, based on scientific knowledge and successful experiment, and perpetually adjusting itself to the new demands of changing situations.

Contacts between economically more powerful and weaker races frequently lead to exploitation, resulting in widespread injustice and suffering.

It is imperative that Christians, and especially those in the immediate areas concerned, should take steps to end these conditions by creating, informing, and influencing public opinion, by presenting their constructive plans before responsible administrative authorities, and, where necessary, by pressing for legislative action.

The situation confronting us is both grave and complex. Racial contacts, prolific in friction, and discontent occur under different conditions which appear to call for different approach.

A. Two or More Races Living Side by Side in the Same Country

The difficulties which arise when two or more peoples, differing in color or race, live side by side in the same country would, this Council believes, be mitigated if steps were taken:

1. To establish the utmost practicable equality in such matters as the right to enter and follow all occupations and professions, the right of freedom of movement, and other

rights before civil and criminal law, and the obtaining and exercise of the functions of citizenship, subject always to such general legislation as, without discriminating between men on grounds of color and race, may be necessary to maintain the social and economic standards of the community as a whole.

2. To secure that the land and other natural resources of the country are not allocated between the races in a manner inconsistent with justice and with the rights of the indigenous peoples.

3. To apply the Christian principle of brotherhood and equality in the eyes of God to matters of social relations and to the common life of the community.

B. Subject Peoples

Where the case is that the affairs of a subject people are administered by a governing class of another race, the ruling race should regard itself as entrusted with the duties:

1. Of insuring that the economic resources, and still more the human potentialities, of the country under its administration are developed in the interests of the indigenous population.

2. Of aiding the peoples so to conduct their affairs that at the earliest possible moment they will be able to stand alone and govern themselves.

3. Of aiding the peoples to protect themselves against such evils as alcohol and noxious drugs, which come in the train of Western civilization.

C. Migration and Colonization

Migration and colonization raise problems which are again different. Almost all large migratory movements are due to one of two causes: political or religious persecution, and the endeavor to secure better economic conditions.

1. In the former case the duty of Christian people to succor the oppressed and persecuted is clear, and that these should be received in the spirit of Christ and admitted to the fullest

participation possible in the common life of the community in which they seek refuge.

2. Migration in order to improve the economic circumstances of life is more general in modern times and more productive of friction. It may be considered to take two forms, each with its peculiar dangers.

a. The migration may be from a more advanced country towards a less developed one. In this case the danger is that the indigenous peoples should be ousted from the rights and privileges they enjoy, and the considerations given under the first heading are applicable.

b. When the migratory movement is in the reverse direction, the danger is that the standards of civilization and of economic welfare attained by the more advanced nation may be threatened by the influx of people accustomed to, and able to accept, a lower standard, both of civilization and of welfare. The Council recognizes that it is reasonable for the higher civilization to protect its standards, and to that end it may be expedient to restrict immigration into its territories. But such restriction, it believes, should never make discrimination among intending immigrants upon grounds of color or race, neither of which can, in the opinion of this Council, be held to be in itself a legitimate ground for exclusion.

Further, it is desirable that a country should have regard, not merely to its own economic situation, but to that of other peoples, and that it should not yield to the temptation of adopting short-sighted measures, which impede such redistribution of population as may be in the best interests of the world as a whole.

D. Other Inter-Racial Problems

In concluding the examination of the circumstances which tend to produce inter-racial ill-feeling the Council cannot overlook the fact that, while international organizations exist which can bring the public opinion of the world to bear upon issues which would otherwise be treated from an exclusively national standpoint, there are nevertheless cer-

tain grave problems which still escape the salutary check of the international conscience. In particular:

1. The relations between the peoples of a metropolitan State and those of its colonies, possessions, and other dependencies.

2. The virtual hegemony exercised by one people over another as a result of the establishment of financial and economic control.

3. The acquisition of special privileges, of which the leading example is the status of extra-territoriality.

The Council cannot refrain from expressing the conviction that in these and similar cases the States concerned are responsible, not to themselves alone, but to the moral judgment of mankind as a whole, and to God.

The Council looks forward to the time when such relations, where they still exist, will be made amenable to the public opinion, not of any one nation or group of nations, but of a world, organized and equipped to judge them by the standard of universal justice.

E. Research

Authoritative research is called for into many aspects of the problem. For the purpose of a Christian solution the following projects are eminently needed:

1. A searching analysis of the social, political, cultural, psychological, biological, and religious factors that contribute to create inter-racial antagonisms.

2. A careful study as to where, at this stage, inter-racial friction is most critically and dangerously at work; in what other areas it is beginning to develop; in what forms it emerges; and in what direction its results trend. Sources of friction, relatively small and temporary in character, but with important repercussions, such as labor, and to a less extent, even student migrations, call for special attention.

3. New light must be sought from the life and teaching of Jesus in face of the conditions of His own time, in their bearing upon this problem, as well as from the teaching of the apostles and the nature of the Christian Church in itself.

In making provision for the efficient pursuit of such research, which is incumbent upon the Council, one of the outstanding practical elements of hope in the situation is the existence of numerous organizations and personal activities in every continent that are beginning to work toward a solution of the problem. It need hardly be stated that it is desirable for the International Missionary Council to enter into relations with these, and to share the results of their researches and of the experience that they and the Council are accumulating.

F. Immediate Action Necessary

Christians, collectively and individually, are also called, under the guidance of God and in faith in His supernatural resources, to courageous and discerning action, with a view to the ultimate victory of the will of Christ over all interracial antagonism. We would emphasize the need that each national missionary, or Christian, council or committee, where unchristian conditions provocative of such antagonism prevail or threaten to develop, should work toward a Christian solution.

Action should be directed immediately at least to the following ends:

1. To bring knowledge and Christian conviction to bear powerfully upon the shaping of individual conscience and public opinion which will be decisive in solving this problem.
2. Continuously to keep the churches everywhere aware of the world-wide nature of the problem and of efforts toward its solution, and sensitive to their responsibility in relation to it; and in particular, to make this integral to the training of the missionary, and the education of the younger generation in the older and the younger churches.
3. To cultivate in the home and the school, through books, periodicals, and speech, as well as through personal contact, that natural friendliness of children toward each other without regard to race which God has implanted in their hearts.
4. To encourage the exchange of students and teachers of

different countries in order to strengthen mutual understanding; and to influence all those engaged in education as well as in the production of books, of films, and of the press.

5. To develop the consciousness in every nation that the common courtesies of life are an elementary duty, whether in relation to members of other races who may be guests or fellow citizens in our own land, or in relation to the peoples whose countries we may visit. In lands where different races live side by side full participation in social, cultural, and above all religious inter-racial fellowship, and the development of personal friendship which such intercourse engenders are the natural expression of our common Christianity, and are obviously to be welcomed as a step towards world-wide understanding.

6. The members of every race should be encouraged to express their missionary conviction in personal service, and measures which debar them from so doing are to be strongly condemned. The desire of the Negro Christians of America to witness for the Gospel in the homeland of their forefathers, as well as in other fields, under such conditions as those defined in the report on the conference on the Christian Mission in Africa (held at Le Zoute in 1926), is a ground for profound satisfaction.

Conclusion

The missionary enterprise itself, as an instrument of God for bringing into being among all races the Church of Christ, has it in its power to be the most creative force working for world-wide inter-racial unity. For ultimately our closest union with each other is our union with Him; and His commandment, "Do unto others as ye would men should do unto you," and "That ye love one another even as I have loved you," if carried into practice in all relationships, would solve the problem, and rid the world of this stupendous menace.

All our work, therefore, must have as its conscious goal the fulfilment of our Lord's prayer, "That they all may be one,"

and the realization of the triumph of His Kingdom when all peoples shall bring their glory into the City of God.[1]

[1] At a session of the Council, subsequent to that on which the report on racial relationships was passed, the following resolution was unanimously carried: That the principle and ideals which this Council has adopted in the report on racial relationships with regard to equal rights for races, it declares and maintains also with regard to the equal rights of men and women in and between all races.

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